



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

UC-NRLF



\$B 264 341

*The  
University of California  
Library*

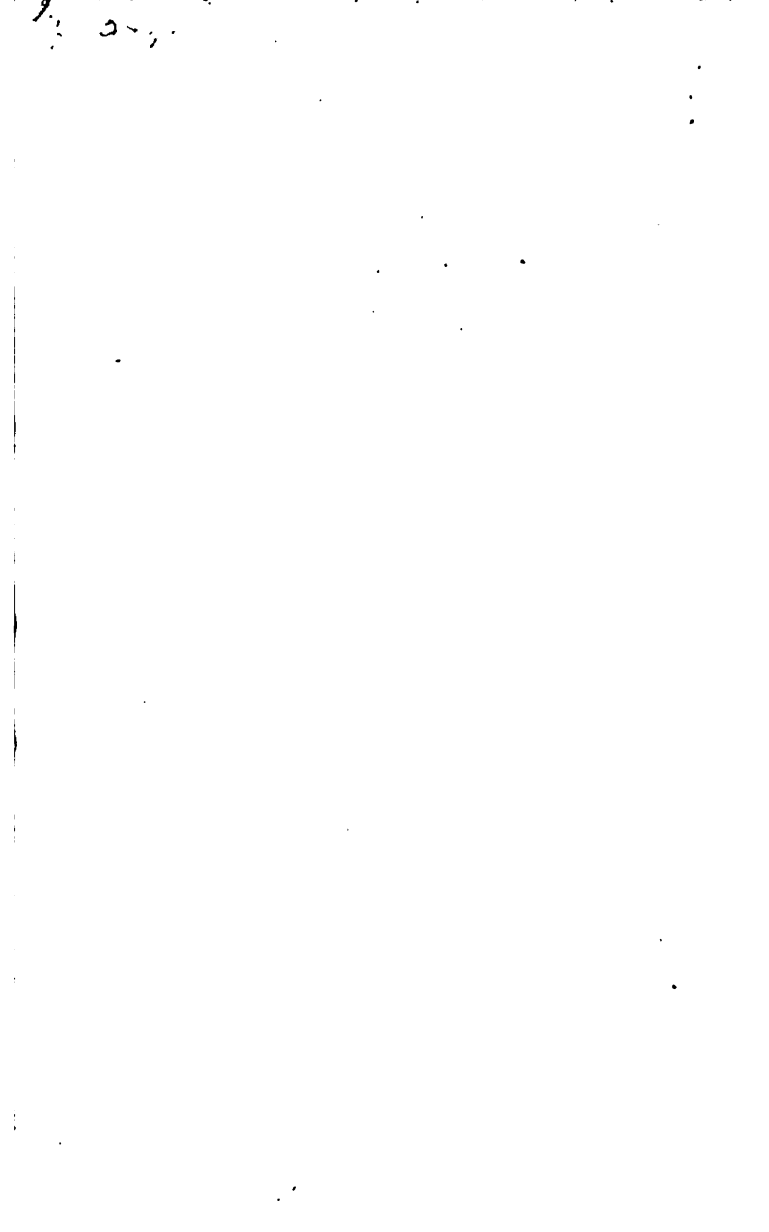


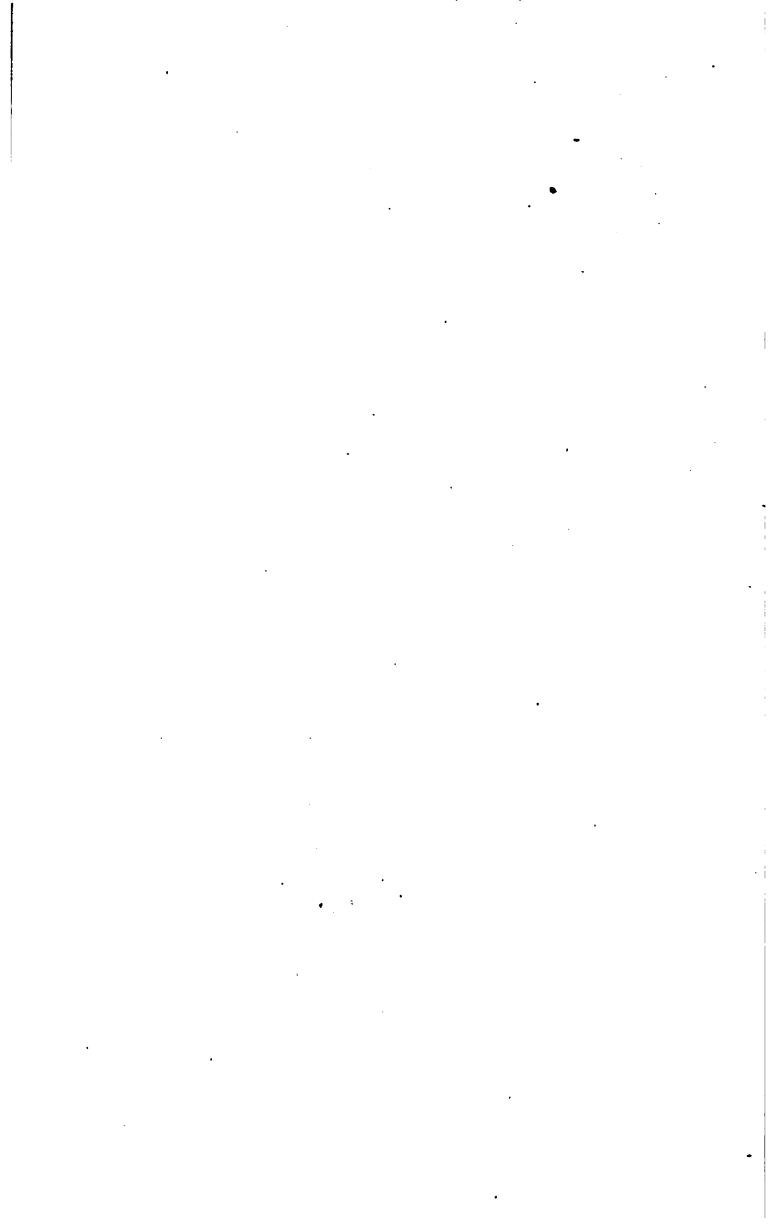
*H. Morse Stephens*

*University of California*



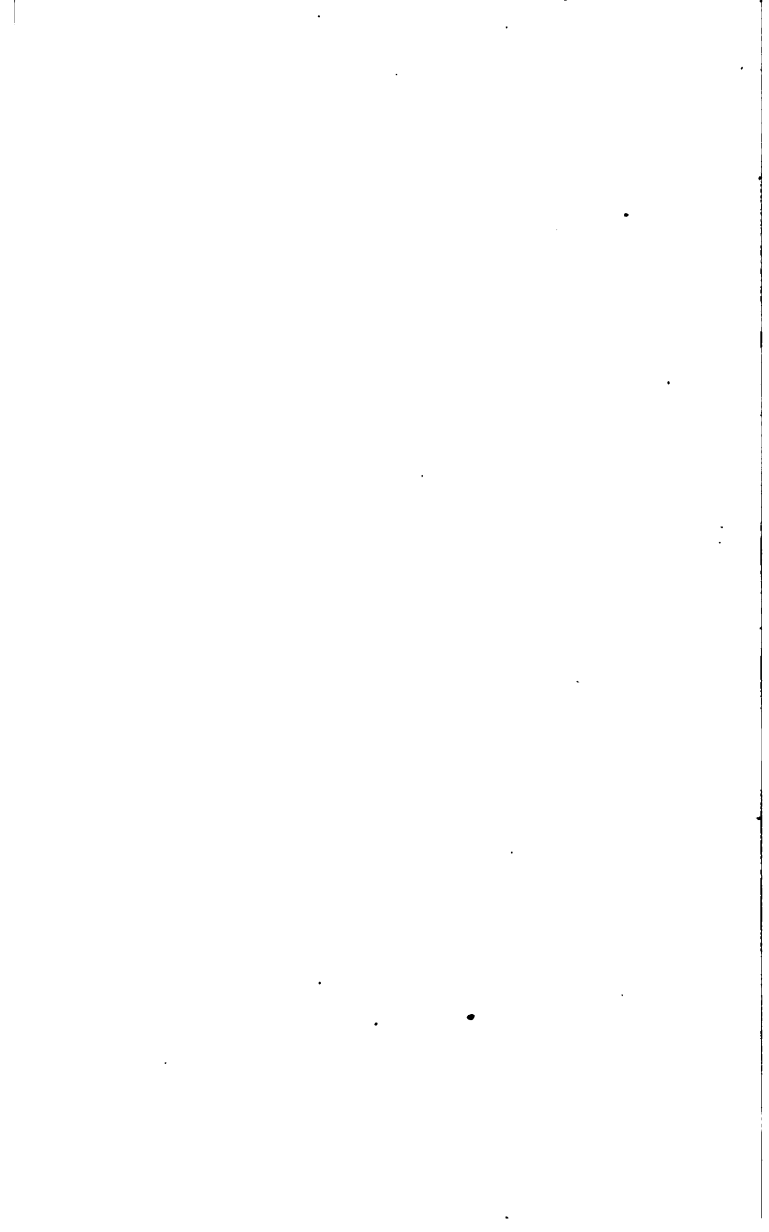
3 /





# **CHINESE EXPEDITION.**





**SIX MONTHS**

**WITH THE**

**CHINESE EXPEDITION;**

**OR,**

**LEAVES FROM A SOLDIER'S NOTE-BOOK.**

**By LORD JOCELYN,**

**LATE MILITARY SECRETARY TO THE CHINA MISSION.**

**LONDON:**

**JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.**

---

**MDCCCXLI.**

70 .VXU  
AIBOHLA

DS757

.5

J6

LONDON :

Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES and Sons,  
Stamford Street.

**HENRY MORSE STEPHENS**

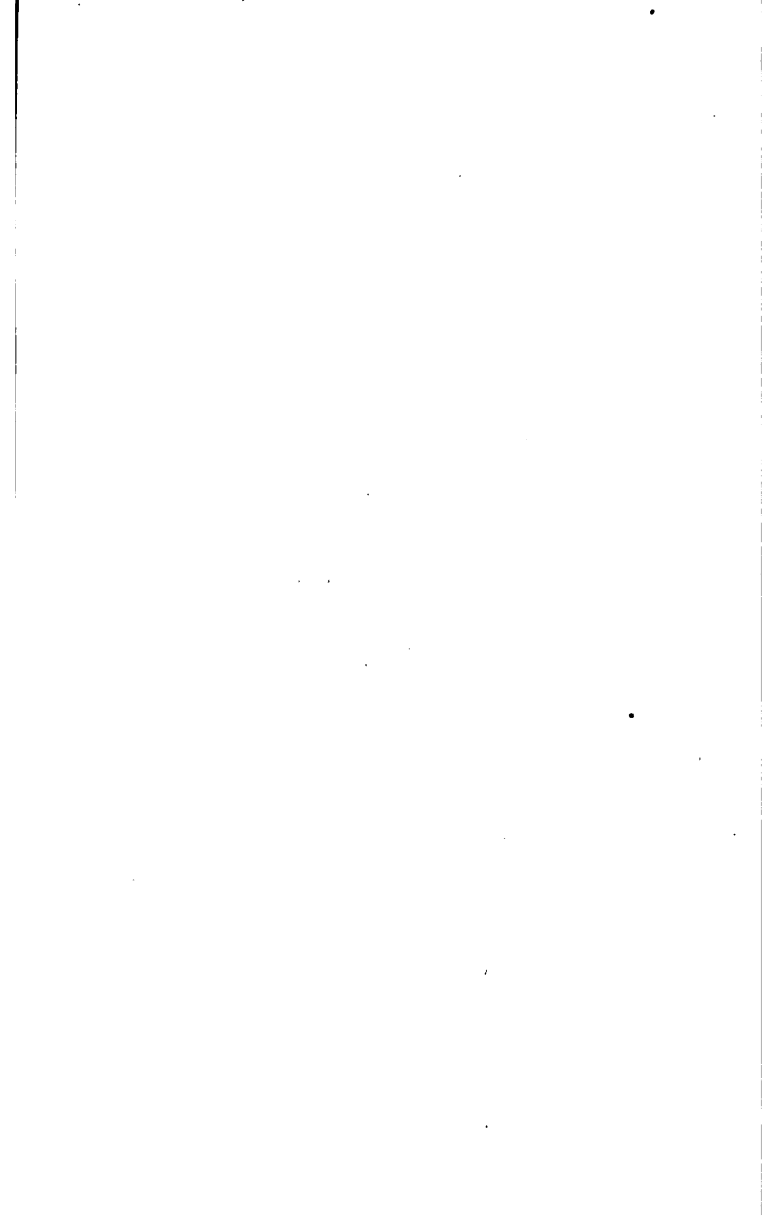
ac

**THESE PAGES**  
**ARE DEDICATED TO THE**  
**MEMBERS OF THE COMBINED FORCE**

**BY**

**A COMRADE.**

**514279**



## PREFACE.

---

THOSE who may have a few idle moments to spare, to glance over these rough pages from a soldier's note-book, must excuse the many faults which, he is aware, will be visible to a critic's eye.

The following sketch was written on the voyage from Canton to Bombay, when the scenes described were fresh in his memory; and, lest any of the readers should be led astray, by reference to the situation the author had the honour to hold in the Chinese mission, and imagine in consequence the work was undertaken at the suggestion, or with the concurrence of its chiefs, he begs to disabuse them of so erroneous an impression; the fact is, that when he was obliged from severe illness, which rendered him unfit for the performance of his duties, to leave the force, he had not

the slightest intention of the kind ; he formed his design therefore without the approval or knowledge of any one of those with whom he had the honour to be associated. Idleness, the greatest enemy of mankind both at sea and on land, drove him to a resource which thrusts another travelled author on the already tired public.

The sketch is entirely gathered from private notes, and recollections of conversations held at different times with residents in the country, or with men interested in its affairs.

The author has taken but a slight and cursory view of the differences that took place previously to the outset of the expedition. As the misunderstandings and conflicts between some of our vessels and the Chinese junks, have not only been mentioned in detail by the papers of the day, but have been the subject of the drama, it would have been tedious to recapitulate them ; and he has therefore confined himself, in description, to the circumstances that occurred during his service with the expedition.

All opinions are hazarded with the greatest diffidence, as, from the slight and imperfect knowledge those most acquainted with the country have been able to obtain, very little weight must be given to the remarks and suggestions of any private individual.

The slight information gained of the manners, customs, and political relations of the country, are of so varied and unauthenticated a description, that what little light may now and then break in upon the traveller only serves to show the darkness under which we are still labouring, and the faint insight hitherto obtained; and as long as the present national jealousies exist, China must continue a hidden soil.

The opening of the trade may serve to enlighten us in a small degree; but a new race and new opinions must arise before foreigners can expect to obtain any authentic account of this singular people.

The only men, who, from their talents and opportunities, would be able to throw a light upon



the subject, are the missionary priests of the Roman Church, who become so devoted to the cause of their religion, they only seek to lay their bones on the soil that they cultivate, satisfied with the hope of having made converts to that church for the extension of whose tenets they are prepared to suffer.

The natural energy of the Chinese is apparent along the whole coast; they seem to bow to no religious thralldom, the will of their rulers being their only chains; thus differing as widely in these points as in language and complexion from their neighbours on the continent of India.

---

# CONTENTS.

---

## CHAPTER I.

### INTRODUCTORY.

	Page
Policy of the Chinese—Opium-trade—Drainage of silver from the country—Transactions at Canton—Commissioner Lin—Measures taken by the British Government—Plan of the Expedition—Trade with China . . . . .	1

## CHAPTER II.

### JOURNAL.

Voyage to Singapore—Malacca—Its savage inhabitants—The Benuas—Singapore—Abundance of pine-apples—An opium smoking-house described—Progress of the expedition—Arrival at Chusan . . . . .	29
--	----

## CHAPTER III.

Harbour of Chusan—Preparations for defence by the Chinese—Attack and capture of Chusan—The town described—Chinese dwellings—A lady's toilette—Conflagration—Town of Tinghai—A Chinese arsenal—House of a literary character—	
--	--

	Page
Chinese bedroom—Joss-houses—Proceedings at Amoy—State of Tinghai—The sentry and his prisoner . . . .	47

## CHAPTER IV.

A compradore carried off by the Chinese—Expedition to recover him—Interior of the island—Chinese graves—Chinese country-house—Seizure of guides—The bandit's house and wife—The bandit's escape—Harassing march—Disputed passage of a bridge—Sufferings of the soldiers—Night scene on the coast—A Chinese monastery . . . .	77
--	----

## CHAPTER V.

Expedition to the Gulf of Pechelee—Pirate junks—Landing at the mouth of the Peiho—The Chinese Commissioner, Kea'shen—Pe, or Captain White—Manchoo Tartary—Value of brass buttons—Bar at the mouth of the Peiho—Means of access to Peking—Interview with the Chinese Commissioner—Polished manners of the Chinese—Kea'shen described—An entertainment—The Tartar body-guard—"The bad business"—State of the Chinese empire—Great wall of China—Result of the conference—Policy of Kea'shen—A Mandarin's appetite . . . . .	99
---	----

## CHAPTER VI.

Return to Chusan—State of the troops—Captain Anstruther kidnapped—Loss of the Kite—Survey of the Yeang-tse-Keang—Capture of Mr. Hamilton—Kindness of the people	
---	--

	Page
of Loo-choo—Proceedings of the expedition—Results of the expedition—Chinese despatches—Author's departure— Chumpee point—Future prospects of the English in China— Want of interpreters—Talents of the Governor-General	. 121

# APPENDIX A.

A Regular Petition . . . . .	149
------------------------------	-----

# APPENDIX B.

Extract from the Correspondence between the Che-keang authorities and the emperor . . . . .	151
--	-----

---



## PLATES.

Great Wall of China, in its course along the shore of the Gulf  
of Pechelee. See page 117. (*To face the Title.*)

Harbour of Chusan, with the British Fleet. Page. 48.

ELEPH

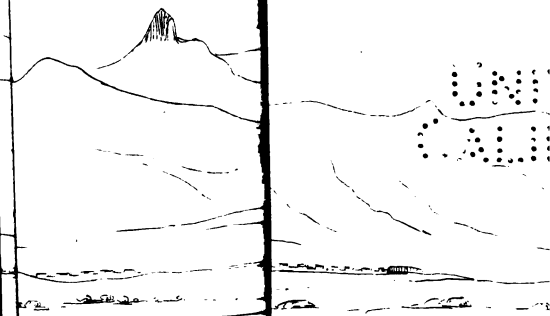
N OF

lon. 1

ELEE, CHINA.

N OF SHAW-HAI

Lon. 120.2 E.



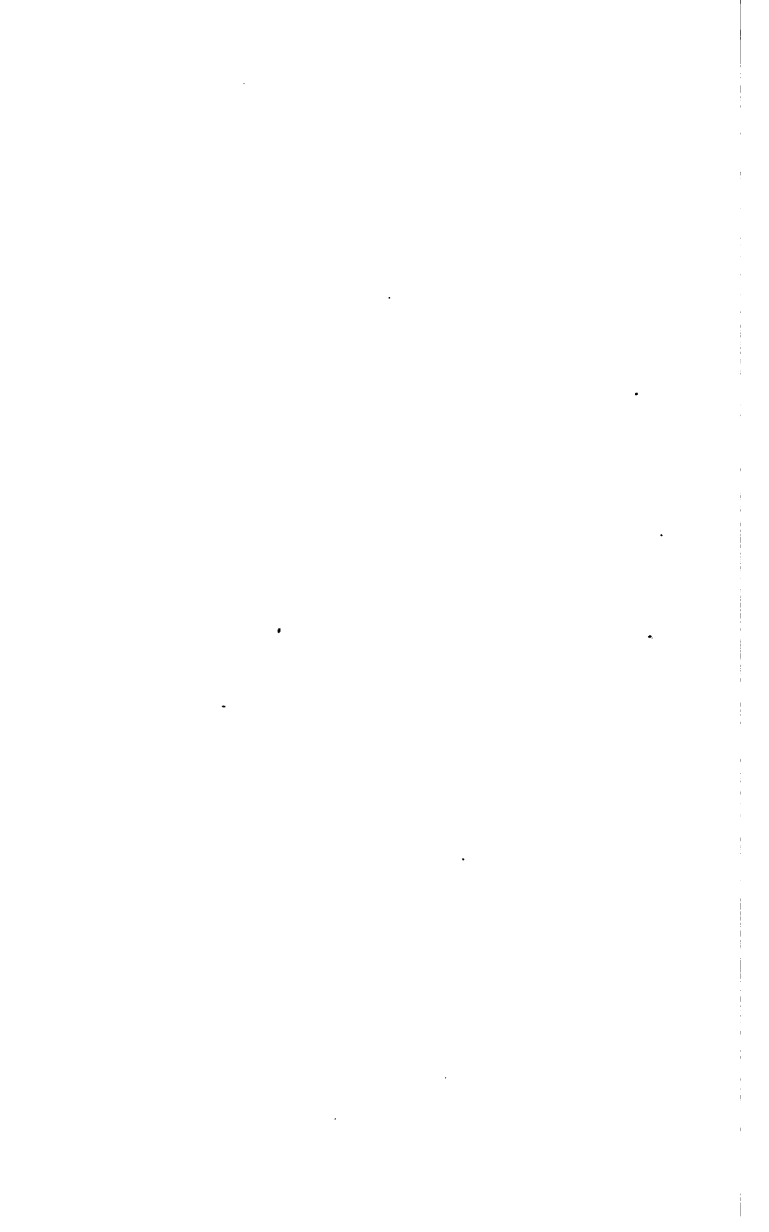
*Lookout Towers on the town with Creepers and Grass.  
unsure in some places*



*A glaring Red House the line of the wall  
a loss House or Arsenal defence  
by itself.*

*by & Haghe. Utrog<sup>+</sup> to the Queen.*





# EXPEDITION TO CHINA.

---

## CHAPTER I.

### INTRODUCTORY.

Policy of the Chinese—Opium trade—Drainage of silver from the country—Transactions at Canton—Commissioner Lin—Measures taken by the British Government—Plan of the Expedition—Trade with China.

For many years past, the attention of those whose acquaintance with China rendered them judges of the state of affairs, had been called to the storm that hovered over the position of the British and Celestial Governments; that storm has at last burst forth into the present attitude of defiance and insult on the part of China.

The mercantile relations which have hitherto existed for upwards of two hundred years between the nations, have at various times been interrupted for a space by the jealousy of the Chinese; but as

long as a monopoly of the trade was held by a company of merchants, their interest naturally inclined them to bend, sooner than lose advantages by a feeling of pique—a course which it would have been derogatory in a nation to have followed.

These relations are founded on advantage to both; and the Chinese are not ignorant of the wealth that commerce with Britain has poured into their coffers. The internal government of China is supposed to resemble somewhat our own in India, being based upon opinion. Its present Tartar rulers being jealous of any influence that foreigners may gain over the people, it becomes necessary to their system to keep their subjects as blind as possible to the movements and feelings of all foreign nations: thus, "*when a Chinaman leaves the flowery land to wander in countries beyond the sea, he rarely, if ever, is permitted to return to his native land.*"\* Any change they know must be fatal to the system their government pursues; and to guard against innovation in minor points they feel to be

\* An expression taken from the Chinese, a liberty which it will be seen the Author avails himself of in other parts of this narrative.

a sure barrier against subversion of greater : for instance, their ships, implements of war and of husbandry, are of the same unscientific construction used by their forefathers many hundred years ago—a state of things not arising from a deficiency of talent or energy, but from the systematic darkness inculcated by their rulers.

To flatter the national vanity of the people, and to sink “the outside nations” or “barbarians” in their eyes, is therefore the great object of all Chinese policy ; to effect which they hold a language of bombast in all communications with foreign powers, and represent, in their public chops or decrees, our trade as of but minor importance to their country. As long as the pressure of the government finds a compensation in their minds in the indulgence of their national vanity, so long may the present system continue ; but should the trade be entirely closed, and thus millions be thrown out of employment ; then, while want and starvation stalk gauntly through the land, the question will arise of Why ? and that word, once uttered, will be the signal of the overthrow of the present dynasty.

It is wrong to imagine that the Chinese are a

degraded race, passive under the infliction of the unmerited lash ; true it is, so long as the military power rests in the hands of the Tartars, and the civil appointments and magistracy in that of the natives of the country, the present rulers may hold their sway over the people, who only see and know in them the authors of rewards and punishments ; but should disaster and misery come upon them, the downfall of the present weak government must be the consequence.

The Chinese have a saying in their language, “ a mob of people is more dangerous than a troop of wild beasts,” and their manner of treating these popular demonstrations is worthy of attention ; the police have strict orders never to interfere, as they conceive that difficulties are more likely to arise from meddling, than benefits to accrue from suppressing them by force.

There was an extraordinary instance of this at Canton, only a few years since, when the opposition to the opium-trade first broke out. The people refused to admit the soldiers to search their houses, and forming themselves into parties or trades, barricadoed the streets ; the government

immediately gave in, and the military made no further attempts at the time.

It is not above twenty years since the Emperor himself was attacked in the palace at Pekin by a band of ruffians, who entered the precincts, forcing him to head his guards for protection. This shows that the power of this empire is on no firmer base than that of other Eastern nations, and is liable to be disturbed at any time by the people, when they may have acquired a knowledge of their strength.

The opium-trade has been in existence ever since the year 1780, but it did not occupy the attention of government until 1820, when one of the governors put a veto upon its introduction into the river—an act, however, which was ably commented upon by his successor, who did not approve of this method of ejecting it.

In his opinion, it was better to have the power at any moment of controuling and diverting its course than to make a vain attempt to stop the mischief its import necessarily occasions.

The demoralising effect of the drug upon the people, not even the most strenuous partisans can

deny ; but how to impose a restraint upon its introduction has been a problem that Chinese statesmen have failed to solve ; and they will most probably be at last obliged to permit it as a necessary evil.

The three great districts in India for the growth of the poppy are Malwa, Patna, and Benares ; the monopoly of the drug at the two last places is entirely in the hands of the East India Company : should they, however, at a future period be obliged to relinquish it, the revenue will scarcely suffer, for they will in all probability place at Calcutta an equal duty upon the export as at Bombay, which will return a profit fully equal in extent to the former gain by the monopoly. Indeed, it seems that such an event would be highly advantageous for the character of the Indian government, and doubtless merchants will be found at all the Presidencies to forward in advance money for the cultivation of the poppy ; and thus, by decreasing the price of its production, remove any chance of a diminution in the market. The best Malwa opium is cultivated by the native Rajahs, and pays at Bombay as duty 125 rupees a chest,

fetching in that market from 400 to 450 rupees ; this on the China coast sells usually for 700 or 800 dollars, and during the late troubles a cargo has even gone as high 1200 dollars.\* The Patna and Benares opium is not so valuable, the product cost being only 300 rupees a chest.

When the monopoly at Bombay was given up, the Bengal mart, endeavouring to destroy that of Malwa, increased its own supply ; and the Bombay merchants, to keep the market still open for the introduction of their own drug sent their emissaries to Calcutta to bid the prices up, thus fictitiously raising the demand and flooding the market with an increased quantity of the article.

The opium is shipped at both Calcutta and Bombay on board small fast-sailing vessels, called after the cargoes opium-clippers : they beat up the China seas in the very height of the monsoon, performing the shortest passage from Bengal in six, and the longest in eight weeks, and are rarely lost in the severe gales that prevail at that period in the China seas. Armed to the teeth, they wander along

\* 125 rupees are equal to 12*l.* 10*s.* ; 400 rupees, 40*l.* ; 700 dollars, 151*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.* ; and 1200 dollars, 258*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.*



the coast, but most particularly off Fokeen, where they are met, ten or twelve miles from the shore, by native junks, who bring out dollars and Sycee silver in exchange. The arms of these vessels, nominally to protect them against pirates, are often turned upon the Chinese authorities; but it is only justice to remark that these collisions were rare until lately, as, previously to the demonstrations at Canton, these ships frequently lay in the different harbours along the coast disposing of their cargoes, paying the mandarins a certain sum for their *permit*. There have been many different opinions amongst the councillors of the court as to the best manner of checking the introduction of this drug; some have recommended severe, others mild measures. The former have prevailed, without having had the effect of decreasing, much less suppressing, the pernicious trade, and have brought the present state of turmoil and trouble upon the country.

The memorial of Hea Natse, one of the mandarins who had formerly held office in Canton,\* is worthy of remark; he enters into and admits the

\* Vice-President of the Sacrificial Court. Vide Parliamentary Reports on China, p. 156.

evils of the opium-trade, but nevertheless proposes to legalise its importation, for he sees the impossibility of entirely putting a stop to it ; and that, if continued to be carried on in its present illicit manner, "*it will occasion an oozing out of silver, whereby the fathomless gulf of the outer sea will soon be the receptacle for the easily exhaustible wealth of the central spring.*" As silver is the easiest, and at the same time least traceable, medium of traffic, it is only in this exchange opium is sold ; and it is the dread of a paucity of the metal that has struck these Chinese statesmen, more than the harm it has inflicted upon the people.

It seems doubtful from what mines the Chinese draw their silver, but, from all that has been gathered from missionary travellers, they appear to work them very rarely and to small purpose ; but they are known to possess quicksilver in abundance, and it must, at some future period, add greatly to the wealth of the country.

In the cry, however, of an unnatural drain of silver from the empire, it seems to be forgotten that the precious metal may be that which was poured in by our predecessors, although, from its changed

appearance, people are led to imagine that it is chiefly the pure Sycee silver of the country. Some undoubtedly is from that source ; yet it is more than probable that by far the chief portion is the chopped dollars in a new form.

When the dollar first comes into the possession of a Chinese he gives it a stamp, or chop, thus extracting a small portion of the metal ; receiving the same usage from each hand it passes through, it is reduced from its coinage-value to that of merely its weight. The possessor of this clipped money, finding the bulk inconvenient, melts it down into the form of Sycee silver,\* a species more easy to stow than if it was in the former coin, in which 1000 drilled dollars might not exceed the value of 200.

It must be remembered that, until the invention of machinery lowered the cost of production, the China market was not accessible to articles of apparel, woollens, &c. ; and all teas and other goods were exchanged for European bullion ; so that, in

\* The Sycee silver is more valuable than any other, on account of its containing portions of gold dust. It is generally in the form of a canoe, with a stamp in the centre.

fact, the present (so called) drain of silver from China is but the re-payment of a loan that has been long owing, or, more properly speaking, a return of money which we once possessed, in exchange for our present merchandise.

The memorials of those councillors in favour of harsh measures require only to be read, and their fallacy is apparent. The fact is plain to any one who is the least acquainted with the people, that to put an immediate stop to a custom which has taken such hold of them is impossible; no measures, however severe, can entirely succeed; thousands are ready to risk their lives to procure the drug, and there are thousands who, from long habit, would, if deprived of it, prefer to be in their graves. The naval strength of China is nothing, the officers of all ranks are open to bribery of the grossest description; they are, therefore, unprepared to carry into effect the harsh measures proposed. On the other hand, the milder form would at once give the government the power of directing the course of the traffic, and be a source of wealth by the duties that would be imposed. But as long as an article is at so false a value,

finding a ready market at 700 dollars, while the export cost is only 400 rupees, so long will there be a sale, whatever means may be taken to suppress it. The opening of the trade alone would bring it to a true valuation, and probably merchants would then find in other goods cargoes equally, or even more, valuable.

Things had been in the most unsettled state for some time at Canton, when Lin, the High Commissioner, was appointed from the Court of Peking to hold equal rank with the governor of the province Quantung, expressly for the purpose of putting a stop to the opium-trade; he came invested with full powers, and in the month of March, 1839, published his first edict.\*

The first serious disturbance between the merchants at Canton and the authorities was owing to the execution of a criminal in the public square belonging to the foreigners. This took place on the 26th of January, 1839, and was followed, soon after the arrival of the commission, by various acts of hostility. Firing on the British flag, violently detaining British ships, demanding for the acci-

\* Vide China Report, p. 350.

dental death of a Chinaman the life of a British subject ; these, with many other acts, all bearing the same character of insult, showed clearly that the High Commissioner Lin was prepared to go every length to obtain the end his appointment had in view.

His next step was to demand that Mr. Dent should enter the city of Canton, and he published a chop declaring all the foreign merchants in that city prisoners, and demanding the whole of the opium in the possession of the British, as the only ransom of their liberty : there is no doubt, that in the demand made for Mr. Dent, it was the intention of the Commissioner to keep that gentleman as a hostage for delivery of the drug.

The Superintendent of Trade, immediately placing himself in his boat, went up to the town, as he plainly saw, that without some determination on his part, the present crisis would lead to a total breach in the mercantile relations between the countries.

Now, although we should admit opium to be contraband, yet the proceedings of the Chinese government must be regarded as unwarrantable ; for it is

contrary to all civilised laws that innocent persons should suffer for a traffic carried on by others. It became Captain Elliot's duty, therefore, as protector of British interests, to throw himself (the servant of government) between the merchants and Chinese authorities. Besides, the right of the Chinese to seize the bodies of British subjects, for at most only suspected smuggling, is not acknowledged by the English nation;\* the Chinese have clearly the right to take the contraband article wherever they find it, but not the persons of the supposed contrabandists.

Immediately upon the Superintendent's arrival the whole community were made close prisoners, the servants and coolies being ordered to leave their masters, who were confined to their houses and surrounded by a mandarin guard. For seven weeks they were kept in this durance, although Captain

\* The Chinese Government denies a foreigner the benefit of the whole of their law; and it is upon this plea the British authorities refuse to acknowledge its power over British subjects, as no justice could be expected from a partial administration; but I believe I am correct in stating that an offer was made to render British subjects amenable to the Chinese laws should they be placed on equal terms with the natives. This offer was answered in the negative.

Elliot offered to the authorities to accompany them on board the vessels in the river, and, wherever the drug might be found, to acknowledge their right of seizure; but they persisted in their course; and he then felt that a crisis had arrived which imperatively called upon him to take such steps as, under the particular circumstances under which he was placed, the important interests at stake seemed to demand. The teas ready for departure were still in the harbour, the non-reception of which in England would cause a serious defalcation in the revenue; and placed, as he was, at a distance from his own government, he saw that it was of the utmost importance to gain time to receive answers to his despatches. He therefore declared himself and the British subjects forcibly detained, and demanded a delivery of the opium from the merchants for the use of her Majesty's government, which was given up a few days afterwards; and it is said that the drug was then destroyed at the mouth of the Bogue. This, however, appears not to have been entirely the case, although some part of it no doubt was so, "*to keep the face of the commissioner clean.*" This supposi-



tion appears strengthened by the late increased demand for Malwa opium, the drug delivered having been chiefly from Patna and Benares, of which upwards of a year's consumption was surrendered. The present sale,\* being one chest of Patna and Benares to two of Malwa, (it having, previously to the surrender of the opium, been generally the reverse,) gives the merchants of Macao the idea that the market is already overstocked with their own article, privately sold by the mandarins—a view of the subject that seems more than probable.

These hostile measures on the part of China made it now evident to the British government that things could no longer be carried on with honour to the country or safety to our fellow-subjects, without its direct interference. It was therefore determined that a force should be prepared and despatched at the earliest opportunity to the scene of action. The whole squadron in the Indian seas was ordered to proceed to Singapore, and the Ad-

\* As a general average the yearly export of teas from China, for the British market amounts to thirty-five millions. The average yearly consumption of the last three years has been about thirty-seven millions.

miral, the Hon. G. Elliot, who, on account of the death of Sir F. Maitland, was nominated his successor, was expected to meet the expedition at that point with a reinforcement of vessels, some from the Cape, and others sent out expressly from England for the service.

The moment appeared propitious for the British authorities, when backed by a sea and land force, to place our relations on a firmer and more advantageous footing than they had hitherto been. It was not merely to demand reparation for grievances, and payment for the property of British subjects unlawfully destroyed at Canton, but to establish, if possible, what was thought even far more important—an opening of the trade at the different ports along the coast, and to obtain some guarantee against similar occurrences for the future. Although the disagreements at Macao and Canton had been carried to a great extent, it was still a subject of congratulation that, owing to the decision of Captain Elliot, the whole of the teas were sent home to England in the year 1839, the greater portion of which were brought down to Macao in American bottoms, or other ships bear-

ing foreign colours, and arrived safely in England, to the amount of thirty-three millions of pounds.

The Governor General, Lord Auckland, was desired to prepare the land-force,\* and the outfit of the expedition was placed in his hands. The Plenipotentiaries, Admiral and Captain Elliot, were to communicate with his Lordship, as well as with the Home Government. In the mean time, as the Admiral had not arrived, the details of the expedition fell under the superintendence of Sir Gordon Bremer, Commodore, who arrived at Calcutta in the *Wellesley*, 74. The whole squadron was expected to be in the Macao roads by the middle of June.

Lord Auckland, who was in the northern provinces, reached the presidency of Bengal in the

\* European regiments, 18th, 26th, 49th, and 37th; Madras infantry, and Bengal volunteers; Madras artillery, and sappers and miners. Squadron:—*Melville*, *Wellesley*, *Blenheim*, 74; *Druid*, *Blonde*, 46; *Conway*, *Volage*, *Alligator*, *Calliope*, *Samarang*, 28; *Pylades*, *Modeste*, *Larne*, *Nimrod*, *Hyacinth*, *Cruiser*, *Columbine*, and *Algerine*, corvettes and brigs; *Queen*, *Madagascar*, *Enterprise*, and *Atalanta*, steamers. The transports were provided each with two guns, and a six-pounder for their long-boats.

beginning of March, when preparations were immediately made for hastening the expedition.

Twelve thousand tons of shipping were taken up at Bengal, the Commissariat were directed to provide provisions for nine months, additional stores were to be despatched from New South Wales, and the coal for the steamers was to be carried as ballast in the transports. A letter containing the demands of the British Government was received from England, to be forwarded by the plenipotentiaries to the Court of Peking immediately on the arrival of the force at Canton, or at any other point that might seem a favourable spot for the transmission of a chop to the Chinese Government.

It was expected that Colonel Oglander, of the 26th Queen's Regiment, would have had the military command in this expedition, as it was the general opinion that Colonel Burrell, the senior officer, would be promoted in the looked-for brevet.

The 21st of May was determined upon as the latest moment up to which the expedition could safely wait at Singapore for the Admiral; after

which date they were to proceed to Canton and commence operations.

As the months July, August, and September are the worst in the year (typhoons generally taking place at that season), the great object was to get the expedition up the China Sea before any danger could arise of meeting with these awful hurricanes.

One of the first points to be obtained was the possession of an island as a depôt for the troops and commissariat, which at some future day might answer as an establishment for trade. Attention was at first directed to the island of Lanto, off the entrance of the Canton river, which was considered a good *point d'appui*, should operations be carried on against that city and the forts of the Bocca Tigris. The Indian Government proposed,\* that immediately upon the arrival of the expedition, they should be battered and razed to the ground; but the authorities on the spot took a different view,

\* This proposal was subsequently negatived, as the great wish of the Government at home appeared to be to save the effusion of blood until all pacific negotiations had failed, and it was therefore deferred to a future day.

imagining that by their easy destruction their weakness would become apparent to the Chinese, and they would be probably rebuilt at a future day with greater care and more mischievous capabilities: on the other hand, if they were taken possession of and held during hostilities, there would thereby be something to return at a settlement of affairs, which would be received by them as a boon, while the occupation of them by Chinese hands could never be formidable to a British force.

In all acts of hostility it was determined that the servants of the Government were to be the object of attack, and the people were to be conciliated wherever there was an opportunity; but those who are at all acquainted with a military force, and with the wants and necessities of an army on active employment, and a country in a state of resistance, must be aware of the difficulty of carrying out such an idea.

To many it appeared that, since it was at Canton that the injuries had been sustained by our merchants, the flag of England fired upon, the Queen's servant imprisoned,—it should be there that the first lesson should be given, and the first

punishment inflicted. Others again thought that the island of Chusan, from its situation at the mouth of the Yeang-tse-kiang, and its consequent mercantile importance, was a better position from which to carry on operations. This great river may be called the main artery to the body of the Chinese empire, and the source of its interior wealth: in extent and navigable facilities it is not surpassed by any in the world; whilst from its bosom, not only the central part of China draws its existence and riches, but the traffic of the northern provinces likewise. It is connected with the Peiho by means of a canal, called the Imperial, which wonderful work thus leads the central trade, and even the southern commerce, to the very north of China, pouring it into the navigable waters of that river at a town called Teon-sing, not more than forty miles distant from Pekin; whilst its southern mouth meets the Yeang-tse-kiang fifty miles below Nanking. The advantage of having a position at its very mouth was evident; Chusan was therefore decided upon as the head-quarters for our military force.

An obstinate nation, like the Chinese, require

rapid and overpowering movements, at once to astonish and paralyse. "Talkee," their favourite mode of expressing a parley, had been too long the system of our policy; and now the object was to gain our point by firmness and determination.\*

After establishing a military position at Chusan, the Commander-in-Chief was next to proceed north to the mouth of the Peiho, accompanied by Captain Elliot, and thence to endeavour to obtain a communication with the Court.

It was the idea of many that the people of Fokien and Che-kiang were hostile to their Tartar rulers; it seemed therefore desirable to cultivate their friendship. One thing was certain (which we afterwards had an opportunity of seeing), that the people of the former province are the most speculating merchants and daring smugglers along the whole coast. The trade carried on between

\* The words firmness and determination do not imply rapine and bloodshed; the public in general appear to blame the heads of the expedition for endeavouring to gain the ends of Government by conciliation instead of a war, which, undertaken against a nation so puerile in that art, would better deserve the name of murder, and could certainly add no laurels to British valour.



these shores and the island of Formosa, in cotton, rice, sugar, &c. &c., is immense. On the island itself is a large settlement of Chinese, who are at present in possession of the western side. A chain of mountains intersects this beautiful island, to the side of which, furthest from the mainland, the present encroachers have driven the aborigines of the soil.

It may be unknown to some that many years ago there was a British factory on the island of Chusan, but it was found by the company, in whose hands it then was, an unprofitable concern; for the Government increased their duties so much on the British imports, that the native junks who bought their goods at Canton were enabled to undersell the British merchant in his own ware. This was the reason why the factory was closed: but the marks of its site are still to be seen on the western extremity of the suburbs. Whether, therefore, a profitable trade would ever be obtained on the coast by the possession of an island, seems a matter of doubt; not that the mandarins would apparently be hostile; on the contrary, they would probably seem to favour us,

or, to use their own expression, *cherish* our merchants; but if they determined again to place such high inland transit-duties on all articles bought from foreigners that the people could not become purchasers, it would be a system difficult to counteract.

On the other hand, it must be recollected that, since the invention of machinery, goods that were formerly inaccessible except to the wealthier classes, are now open to the most humble. Two hundred years ago, nankeen and similar articles were sold at much lower prices in China than British cottons could possibly be; but this native manufacture can neither have greatly increased or diminished in cost for centuries, depending merely on the momentary price of labour, and years of scarcity or plenty; whilst the march of science has enabled European goods that formerly cost ten dollars in England to be sold at the present day for two on the coast of China.

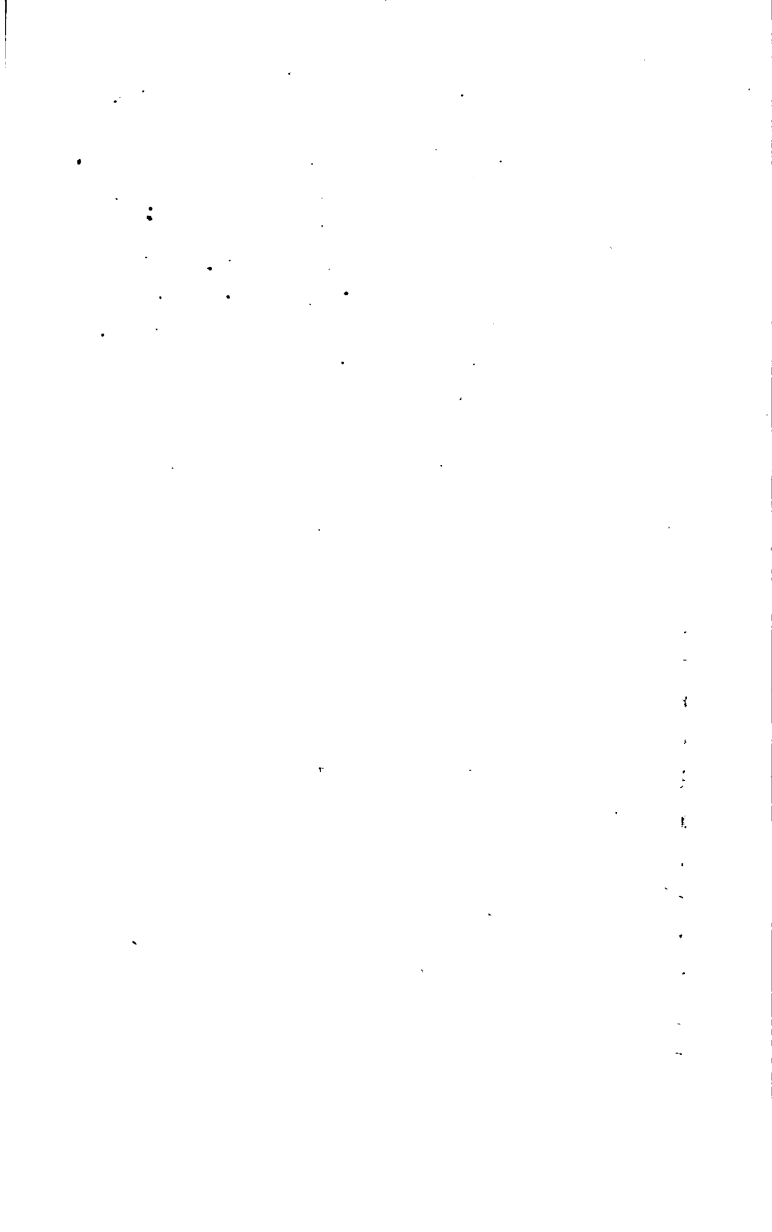
Mandarins and people of wealth were necessarily then the only consumers, but now a new and numerous body, viz. the bulk of the population, would become purchasers; for it is evident, when they can

possess themselves of an article similar and superior to their own at a far cheaper rate, they will be driven into the market, while their energies must be turned into some other channel of employment to obtain subsistence and the means of purchasing. Teas, raw and manufactured silks, would in all probability be shipped in exchange from the Chekiang, Fokien, and Keangnan coasts for woollens and broadcloths, thus lowering the price of tea and admitting a poorer class of consumers in England. Some of us, who had an opportunity of visiting the northern provinces, saw what a ready mart woollens and warm clothing would be likely to meet with in a country liable to such changes of temperature. No possible average can be taken of what would be the demand; for the great loss of coasting-junks and the expense of inland carriage prevent the inhabitants from feeling the effect of our diminished prices; but when it is taken into consideration that a quantity of European manufactures finds a sale on the western coast of South America, where there are but nine millions of people, equal to what is now sold on the coast of China, in which country

there are supposed to be three hundred millions, the supply in China must be very far short of the actual demand.

If this argument is fair, an enormous increase in the consumption may naturally be expected; and should the mandarins find out, as they no doubt would, that a profit is to be obtained by the monopoly of the trade; perhaps at last their own interest will lead them in reality to encourage what hitherto they have blindly driven away.

---



## JOURNAL.

## CHAPTER II.

Voyage to Singapore—Malacca—Its savage inhabitants, the Benuas  
—Singapore—Abundance of pine-apples—An opium smoking-  
house described—Progress of the expedition—Arrival at Chusan.

ON the 8th of May, 1840, we sailed in the Conway frigate from Calcutta, in which vessel the captain had kindly offered me a passage. Having heard much of the beauties of the Hooghly, I was disappointed, on the whole, in the scenery; the banks from their lowness were unvaried although rich, but the foliage of the trees made the scene luxuriant. I can well understand the admiration of those who have been buffeting about for four months on the ocean, with nothing in sight but its wide-spreading blue, when they first behold these verdant banks, after a long and dreary passage from England; but to the Eastern traveller

that bright unvaried colour soon palls upon the sight, and he longs for more rugged features to diversify the scenery. The steam-tug was not of sufficient power to tow us down the river, and was accordingly sent back, and the following day another arrived to our rescue. At the mouth of the Hooghly were many ships nearly dismasted, and two of the transports, with two hundred of the Bengal volunteers, being quite dismantled, returning to refit.

The winds were light and variable until the 21st, when we made the land and entered the Straits of Singapore, running along by the coast of Malacca.

The richness of the scene extends even to the water's edge, where the bright trees of all descriptions dip their branches in the waves, and the sweet and spicy odours render fragrant the air from the neighbouring shore, whilst in the background runs a line of broken mountains, of which Mount Ophir is the highest in the range.

The colouring of the sky previously to and during a thunder-storm is one of the grandest sights in these tropical climes; the cloud comes

stealing along the heights, until it bursts over head, not as in more northern latitudes, but in sheets of flames of different hues, shooting their brilliant and varied lights through the surrounding firmament.

Mount Ophir, from its name and gold-mines, gives a degree of interest to the traveller : in shape it resembles Mount Vesuvius, and for many miles at its base stretches a tract of forest inhabited by wild beasts, and men even more savage than the animals themselves. The town of Malacca stands upon a point of land projecting at the end of a bay, and from its situation and buildings forms a picturesque object from the sea.

The mines in the mountains have at a distant period been worked upon a much larger scale than at present, the only people who now follow the trade being a few Chinese and Portuguese, upon whom the chiefs of the tribes levy a species of black-mail in return for the protection they afford. However, these chiefs are not able to defend them from the tribes that infest the jungle districts which they have to traverse, in order to bring their hard-earned gold to the coast ; and



many are murdered on their journey, and hundreds robbed, so that the traffic is one of great danger and uncertainty.

If the stories related by residents of the habits and customs of this nation be even founded on fact, the tales of the wild men of the woods are scarcely exaggerated.

A description of their habits, given me by a gentleman who was a long time a resident in the country, and a traveller amongst the people, is so extraordinary as almost to exceed belief; but as it has been since repeated by others, whose authority is likewise undoubted, I may venture to record it.

One of the tribes that infest the jungle, and are supposed to be the aborigines of the country, are the Benuas. They seldom come down into the more civilised parts of the continent unless caught and forcibly detained. Their stature is rarely above four feet four; and when the children reach the age of manhood, they destroy their parents, to make way for their own generation, and the skulls of their deceased parents are the only tokens that they keep to remind them of the authors

of their being and their unnatural fate. So far I believe there is truth in the stories; and as the larger species of monkeys are found upon the island, although not the ourang-outang of Borneo, it has given rise to the many absurd tales that the invention or credulity of travellers has thrust upon the public.

We made Singapore on the morning of the 27th. The entrance to the harbour is studded with islands of a conical shape, richly wooded to the water's edge, and covered with plantations of pines to the summit; whilst the Malacca shore, as I before attempted to describe, with its distant hills and heavy jungle, and the low blue line of the land of Sumatra, gives a variation to what, but for the barrenness of the coast and the rocky ledges of the distant mountains, would be liable to the same imputation of palling upon the sight that Indian scenery certainly is open to.

The Malay proha is seen to steal under the overhanging trees of the islands, shooting from the bosom of one into the rich foliage of another: its long and graceful shape, with its twenty or thirty oars flashing in the moonlight, give it the

appearance of a spirit-bark gliding on the tranquil water. Woe betide the unwary or badly-manned merchantman that falls into its clutch; for here piracy still exists to a considerable degree, although not to be compared to what it did some years since.

The town of Singapore has not existed above twenty years, yet already the trade is nearly equal to that of Bombay; the place itself is small, and was recently cut out of the jungle. On a plain at the foot of the hill where the governor resides are the bungaloes of the different merchants, facing the sea.

A feature that shows its late origin from the wilds is the number of tigers that still roam about the purlieus of the town, entering even the gardens and compounds of the inhabitants, as if loth to leave their ancient domains.

The non-imposition of a light tax upon this harbour seems a mistake of the British government. The expenses of the straits are great, and ship-masters and merchants do not seem to consider that a small impost in the shape of harbour-dues would in any way affect the trade: at present,

those who derive the benefit and can afford to pay, pass free; whilst the wretched inhabitant of the soil is burdened with taxes that weigh him down in poverty and misery.

When we come to consider that the import-trade in the official year 1838-9 into Singapore amounted to 26,173,814 rupees,\* and the exports to 23,382,832 rupees;† whilst the tonnage statements of the preceding 1837-8 show that no less than thirty-one vessels cleared out for *England alone*, average burden 315 tons, carrying mostly valuable cargoes, the weight of gold-dust alone being eight pekuls;‡ it becomes evident that a very slight tax would yield a large revenue to the country, paying the expenses of the straits, and relieving the inhabitants, at present so wretched and depressed.

In no part of her Majesty's dominions is there so great a deficiency of females as in the island of Singapore; but it is to be hoped that a statement of the enlightened governor to the Bengal govern-

\* 26,173,814 8s.

† 23,382,832 4s.

‡ A pekul of gold, 133 lbs. All statements here are merely of the local trade.

ment upon the subject will be attended to, and women shipped from the Indian coasts to remedy the evil.

The felons transported here are chiefly employed in the jungle, clearing away and cutting roads ; and from the severe and excellent management of Mr. Bonham, governor of the Straits, it is said to be far superior to the penal settlements of New South Wales ; for here criminals are looked upon as such, and receive the punishment due to their offences.

By far the largest portion of the population on the soil are Chinamen whose parents wandered from the Celestial Empire : these are the most hard-working and indefatigable labourers, and in make and strength far superior to the darker settlers from India and lands adjacent. At the outskirts of the town they have established a bazaar, and built a jos-house or temple, which at the time of our first arrival was scarcely finished. Some of the carving of the woodwork in and around the building is beautiful, and cut with great taste and care ; but the huge ungainly figures of devils and dragons, which stand in

threatening attitudes around the altars, give a grotesque appearance to a place of worship that is found in no other religion but the Buddhs. Placed between a blue and red devil, standing upwards of six feet high each, sits the figure of the Queen of Heaven, a gilded image richly dressed in embroidered China silks: this seemed to be the great object of their adoration; whilst on a high carved altar in front were sticks of incense burning in little pots filled with earth.

The exterior of the building was tiled with green and blue porcelain, and the edges of the roofs ornamented with carving in the shape of animals, monsters, and flowers; each gable end curling upwards was deeply cut like the cornice-work upon a Grecian pillar; and the whole, from the varied and gaudy colouring, and the high polish, had a novel and pleasing effect to the eye. Since I have seen many of the houses and temples of the Chinese, the paintings on the old china imported into England struck me as the best delineation of the buildings and figures of these extraordinary people; and it is wonderful how correct they are in the main features.

The boats are seen entering the harbour before sunrise laden with pine-apples and other fruits: the former, although not equal to those of the English hot-house, bear no comparison, from their superior flavour, with the same fruit of either East or West Indian growth. Here they are in such abundance that captains of ships frequently purchase them by boat-loads to scour their decks, which, from the acidity they possess, they have the property of whitening. But here, and here only in its prime, is found the most delicious of all fruits, the mangostein, which once tasted is never forgotten; and often, on a sultry Eastern morning, the traveller recollects the baskets of these cool and luscious fruits that were here his morning meal.

One of the objects at this place that I had the curiosity to visit, was the opium-smoker in his heaven; and certainly it is a most fearful sight, although perhaps not so degrading to the eye as the drunkard from spirits, lowered to the level of the brute and wallowing in his filth. The idiot smile and death-like stupor however of the opium debauchee has something far more awful to the gaze than the bestiality of the latter. Pity, if possible,

takes the place of other feelings, as we watch the faded cheek and haggard look of the being abandoned to the power of the drug; whilst disgust is uppermost at the sight of the human creature levelled to the beast by intoxication.

One of the streets in the centre of the town is wholly devoted to the shops for the sale of this poison; and here in the evening may be seen, after the labours of the day are over, crowds of Chinese, who seek these places to satisfy their depraved appetites.

The rooms where they sit and smoke are surrounded by wooden couches, with places for the head to rest upon, and generally a side room is devoted to gambling. The pipe is a reed of about an inch in diameter, and the aperture in the bowl for the admission of the opium is not larger than a pin's head. The drug is prepared with some kind of conserve, and a very small portion is sufficient to charge it, one or two whiffs being the utmost that can be inhaled from a single pipe, and the smoke is taken into the lungs as from the hookah in India. On a beginner, one or two pipes will have an effect, but an old stager will continue smoking for hours. At the head of each



couch is placed a small lamp, as fire must be held to the drug during the process of inhaling ; and, from the difficulty of filling and properly lighting the pipe, there is generally a person who waits upon the smoker to perform the office.

A few days of this fearful luxury, when taken to excess, will give a pallid and haggard look to the face ; and a few months, or even weeks, will change the strong and healthy man into little better than an idiot skeleton. The pain they suffer when deprived of the drug, after long habit, no language can explain ; and it is only when to a certain degree under its influence that their faculties are alive. In the houses devoted to their ruin, these infatuated people may be seen at nine o'clock in the evening in all the different stages. Some entering half distracted to feed the craving appetite they had been obliged to subdue during the day ; others laughing and talking wildly under the effects of a first pipe ; whilst the couches around are filled with their different occupants, who lie languid with an idiot smile upon their countenance, too much under the influence of the drug to care for passing events, and fast merging to the wished-for consumma-

tion. The last scene in this tragic play is generally a room in the rear of the building, a species of dead-house, where lie stretched those who have passed into the state of bliss the opium-smoker madly seeks—an emblem of the long sleep to which he is blindly hurrying.

During our stay at Singapore the seamen of the flag-ship Wellesley were exercised on shore, under the superintendence of the commanding officer, Captain Maitland, whose unwearied attention and military taste soon brought 350 sailors into a state of discipline, very little, if at all, inferior to the best light-troopers in our service: in their skirmishing, taking up ground, and covering, they reminded me of my old corps; and, with green jackets on their backs, I feel sure any rifle-man might be proud of his recruits.

The fleet sailed on the 30th, amounting in number to twenty-four sail, having waited a longer period than directed for the arrival of the Admiral, who was still absent; the command therefore remained in the hands of Commodore Sir Gordon Bremer.

The expedition was shortly afterwards deprived of the valuable services of Colonel Oglander, com-

mander of the 26th Cameronians. He had long been suffering acutely from disease; and before the arrival of the troops on the China coast, this distinguished soldier sunk under the attack, regretted and esteemed by all as a talented officer and a gentleman.

The flag-ship, accompanied by a corvette and steamer, entered the Macao roads, leaving the remainder of the fleet outside until some definitive arrangements had been made with the Junior Plenipotentiary, Captain Elliot. All were on the tiptoe of expectation, as it was anticipated that the taking of the Bogue forts would be the prelude to active hostilities. To this, however, the opinions from England were averse, and the first ardour was doomed to receive a severe check, when, on the 23rd of June, the Alligator was seen bearing down to the Conway, and soon after the signals were hoisted to proceed north. Then a gloom fell upon all; and those, who had been rejoicing in the expectation of the laurels to be gathered on the battlements of the Bogue, now walked the decks listlessly, unwilling and unable to conceal their disappointment.

This attack was therefore put off for the arrival

and decision of the Commander-in-Chief, but a blockade was established at the mouth of the river.

Having the honour to act as military secretary to the mission until the arrival of the Commander-in-Chief, by whom my appointment was ultimately confirmed, I proceeded on board the flag-ship at Buffalo's Nose, now the post of rendezvous, previously to entering the harbour of Chusan. Two or three interpreters had been brought from Macao, among whom was Mr. Gutzlaff, the missionary, better known as the author of a voluminous work entitled *China Opened*, but whose lengthened labours require an appetite for the marvellous to digest. Dates and exact statements of finance, &c., are difficult to be correctly obtained in any country, but more particularly in these far Eastern lands; and it is not probable that a jealous race like the Chinese would permit a stranger to become so intimately acquainted with their internal policy. Thus the errors of the reverend gentleman seem to have arisen not from any intentional mis-statement, but from a guileless disposition, giving too easy a credence to the natives of the country he has *opened*.

On the 2nd of July we came to anchor off the entrance of Chusan, or rather amongst the group of islands, for they are thickly scattered, and what struck the eye was the cultivation visible on every island; for labour appears here to have gone hand in hand with nature to nurture her boundless gifts.

When the tide ebbed we found ourselves anchored amidst a forest of fishermen's nets, which covered the sea for many miles; and the vessels of the poor fishermen soon came alongside, with their owners in great tribulation at the unintentional havoc we had occasioned.

Some of them came on board, and the interpreters proved themselves bad hands at their functions, the *patois* of the different provinces rendering the natives of one unintelligible to the others: however, as they were generally able to write, and no difference exists in the orthography, we were thus enabled to communicate.

Two of them were taken as pilots, much to their annoyance, and were dressed in seamen's clothes: this appeared to please them, and, with their long tails and loud heiyaahs, they were a source of great amusement to the sailors. They at first imagined

we were merely merchantmen, never having heard of the disturbances in the south. Upon being questioned as to the mandarins and their force on the island, they assured us we should be treated by the former with great mercy and leniency, and perhaps be permitted to trade a little; but upon being informed that we were going to take possession and send away their officers, they raised their hands, exclaiming, "Pont-kung, Pont-kung" —cannot, cannot.

---



## CHAPTER III.

Harbour of Chusan—Preparations for defence by the Chinese—  
 Attack and capture of Chusan—The town described—Chinese  
 dwellings—A lady's toilette—Conflagration—Town of Tinghai—  
 A Chinese arsenal—House of a literary character—Chinese bed-  
 room—Joss-houses—Proceedings at Amoy—State of Tinghai—  
 The sentry and his prisoner.

ON the morning of the 3rd of July Captain Bethune went into the inner harbour in a steamer to examine the passage ; he returned the same afternoon, and on the following day we entered. The channel was narrow, and as the steamer was turning ahead between an island and rock she struck upon a sand-bank: the impetus of a seventy-four in motion would in another moment have smashed her to a thousand shivers ; and as we looked from the high poop upon what seemed the devoted steamer, no power appeared adequate to save her from immediate destruction ; luckily, however, the Wellesley caught the ground for a moment herself, and the impetus was so much



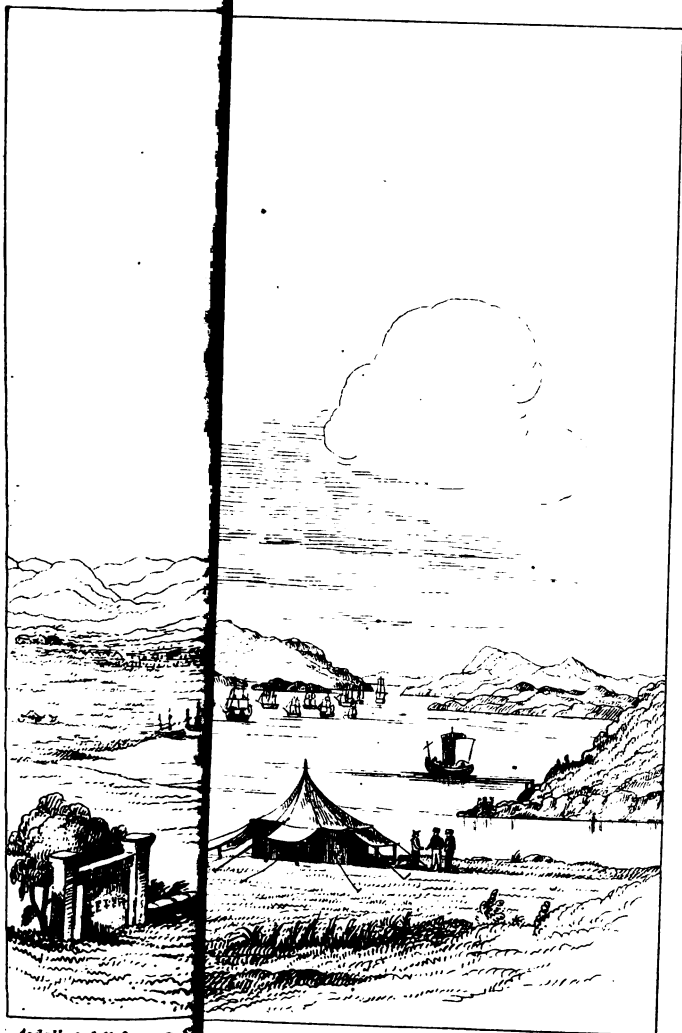
lessened that, merely grazing the steamer's side, she carried away her starboard paddle-box, and shoved her still higher upon the bank.

Entering this beautiful harbour—for beautiful it is, whatever those who are disgusted with it may affirm—the beach and heights near the sea appeared covered with a dense population.

The suburbs run parallel to the water's edge, and form a wharf, along which was seen a forest of merchant-craft. On entering the harbour, eleven war-junks bore down to us; but as we advanced they receded, taking up different positions, and finally formed a line in front of the merchant-junks to protect the shore from an invasion.

These rude vessels of war are easily distinguished by their flaunting streamers, red-muzzled guns, and painted poops, and carry about fifty men each.

To our right was a hill 200 feet in height, on the summit of which stands a jos-house or temple; here the soldiers had taken up their position, and with the rudest fortification and slightest management, might have given us some annoyance.

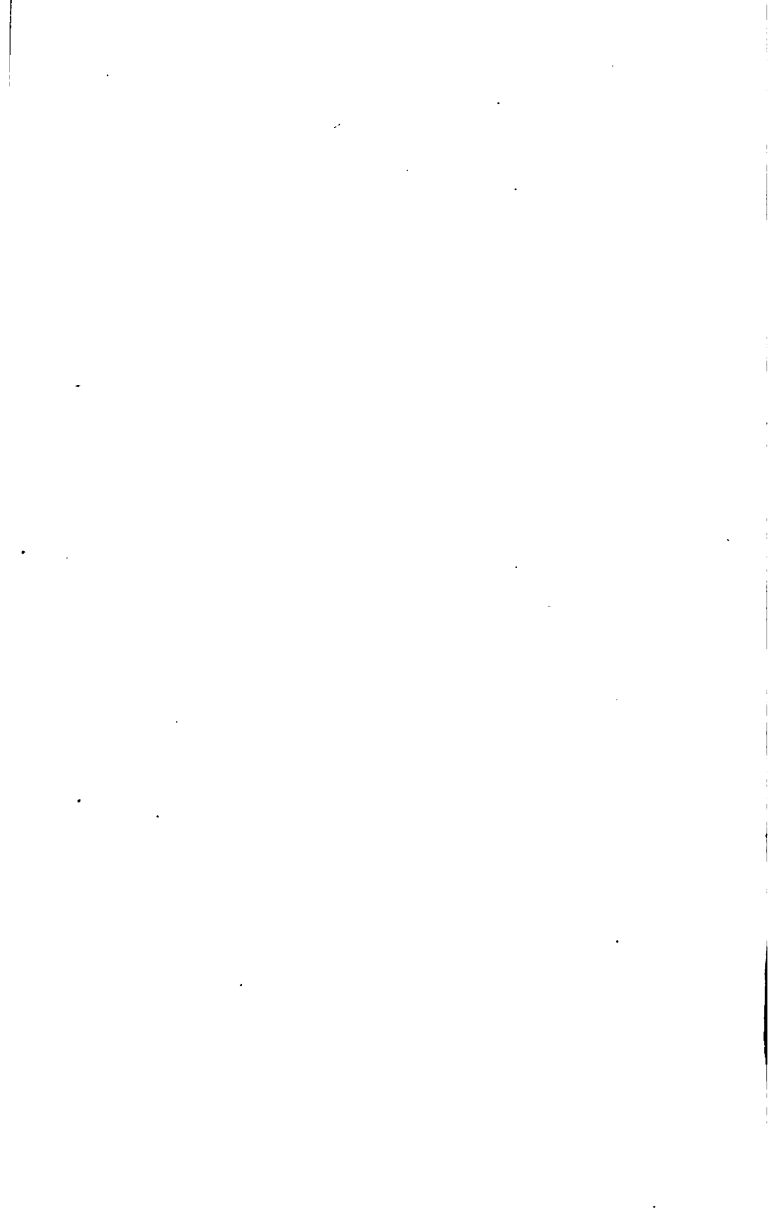


*Aghallas, del<sup>a</sup> from a S.  
S.*

*On Stone by C. Burton*

*Fleet of Transports.*

*Days Haghe. Ushag to the Guest*



The troops upon this hill, at a moderate computation, amounted to 800 men; here there were six guns so laid that they could neither train nor level them. Along the wharfs in front of the suburb were thirty other pieces of the same material, and a small martello tower on the left centre, mounting eight more. On this ground the troops might have numbered 600: however, as there were crowds of inhabitants assisting in placing and fortifying the ramparts with grain-bags, it was difficult to say whether the real number of the military was less or more.!

In the afternoon of the 4th of July I accompanied Captain Fletcher, commander of her Majesty's ship Wellesley, on board the Chinese admiral's junk, which we recognised by its more numerous pennons and three tigers' heads painted on the stern. Our orders were to summon the town and island to surrender within six hours.

As we shoved alongside the admiral's junk, they ran their gangway guns out; but before they could make any preparation for resistance (if they had intended it) we jumped on board with our interpreter, and were surrounded by

swarms that seemed to gather from every crevice of the vessel; and when it was seen on shore that we were on board the junk, numbers waded off from the town.

They showed not the slightest mark of hostility, but received us with great civility, informing us that the admiral was on shore, with the other great officers of the district; but they had sent to apprise him of our arrival. During the visit they handed round tea, but not such as ladies in England would approve of, for the Chinese always drink it so weak that the water is barely tinged, and the leaves of the plant form a necessary part of the nauseous mixture. In the course of half an hour the Chumpin \* and suite arrived; he was an old man, and bore in his face the marks of opium; he wore a red button in his cap, and the other officers mounted blue and white, according to their different grades, these being the distinguishing marks of rank from the Emperor downwards.

\* Chumpin or Admiral. He is believed to be military and naval governor of all the district, which includes Chusan and the neighbouring group.

We opened the summons, and they read it in our presence, and indeed before the assembled troop : the deep groans and increasing pressure of the people warned us that we were amongst a hostile multitude ; and from that moment I have ever doubted the fiction, so industriously circulated throughout India, of the hatred and dislike of the natives in China to their Tartar rulers ; for it appeared, as far as we had an opportunity of judging, to be without the slightest foundation.

The summons addressed to the people stated that no injury was intended to them, but it was against their rulers and their servants we had come to make war for their unjust acts. Of this they seemed perfectly aware ; but they hated the invading barbarians more bitterly than their Tartar rulers ; and their clenched hands and anxious faces proved to us how false was the idea that we were come amongst a people who only waited for the standard of the foreigner to throw off a detested and tyrant yoke.

After some conversation they agreed to accompany us to the flag-ship, and, upon our proposing to remain as hostages on board their junk, they

simultaneously refused, and begged we would take a seat in their boat to the Wellesley.

All was here repeated to them to the same end as what they already knew; and the reason and purport of our present hostile movement on the place was explained. They complained of the hardship of being made answerable for wrongs that we had received at Canton, and said, naturally enough, "those are the people you should make war upon, and not upon us who never injured you; we see your strength, and know that opposition will be madness, but we must perform our duty if we fall in so doing."

Sir Gordon Bremer entreated them to consider well before they attempted to defend what they owned was impracticable: they promised to do so, and he gave them until the following morning to confer and think over it. Their last words before quitting the ship were, "If you do not hear from us before sunrise, the consequences be upon our own heads."

Whilst on board the vessel they showed no marks of astonishment at her size or guns, except one man, whose fate I shall afterwards mention;

and refused to take any refreshments during the conference, except some sweet wine, which they seemed to be well acquainted with.

During the whole of that night the shore presented a most beautiful spectacle, the hills around and suburbs appearing a moving mass of variegated light. In China no individual ever moves out at night without these painted lanterns, carrying them in their hands, or on short bamboos. By their help we could perceive that crowds were busy throwing up some more of their wretched embankments, and placing gingalls and fresh guns in position.

The merchant-junks were faintly seen, through the shades of darkness, heaving up their heavy anchors, and stealing silently through the fleet, laden half way up their masts with goods and merchandise, and crowded with women and children; these were allowed to pass without molestation, although in their cargoes many a captain might have made his fortune.

None can deny that every leniency was shown, and every endeavour made, compatible with his position, by the Commodore commanding, to save an effusion of the blood of these infatuated people.



In the first place, as they most justly observed, it seemed hard that they should be made to suffer for the sins of the Canton government, and we had no injuries to revenge personally upon them ; in the second place, our force was numerically so much superior that they would lose nothing in their own eyes by being defeated when victory on their part was impossible ; thirdly, more was likely to be gained at a spot which it was then hoped might prove at a future day an eligible seat for our commerce, by conciliation, and gentle endeavours, leaving no rankling reminiscences on the minds of the people. If a blow became necessary, it would have far more effect, if struck at some point where the Chinese considered themselves most invulnerable, and where, therefore, it would become more awakening to their vanity and self-opinion.

However, it happened otherwise ; and the morning of the 5th of July, 1840, was the day fated for her Majesty's flag to wave over the most beautiful island appertaining to the Celestial Empire, the first European banner that has floated as conqueror over the "*Flowery Land*."

The dawn of day brought much the same spectacle as the preceding, excepting that a few guns

were mounted on the Jos-house hill, and the mandarins were seen actively employed running about along the wharf. Soon afterwards they were remarked to take their different stands with the troops, one among them with his party in the martello tower being particularly conspicuous. The war-junks were drawn up and crowded with men.

The British men-of-war were lying in line with their larboard broadsides towards the town, at a distance of two hundred yards from the wharf and foot of the hill. They consisted of the Wellesley, 74; Conway and Alligator, 28; Cruiser and Algerine, 18; and ten gun-brigs. At eight o'clock the signal was hoisted to prepare for action; still, however, time was given by the Commodore, hoping to the last they would repent, and it was not until two o'clock that the troops left the transports in the boats of the squadron, and took up their position in two lines in rear of the men-of-war, to land under cover of the fire. At half-past two the Wellesley fired a gun at the martello tower: this was immediately returned by the whole line of junks, and the guns on the causeway and the hill; then the shipping opened their broadsides upon

the town, and the crashing of timber, falling houses, and groans of men resounded from the shore. The firing lasted on our side for nine minutes, but even after it had ceased a few shots were still heard from the unscathed junks.

When the smoke cleared away a mass of ruin presented itself to the eye, and on the place lately alive with men, none but a few wounded were to be seen; but crowds were visible in the distance flying in all directions. A few were distinguished carrying the wounded from the junks into the town, and our friend the Chumpin was seen borne from his vessel by a faithful few, having lost his leg in the action by a round shot. It is as well here to mention that he was taken to Ningpo, a town on the opposite island, and although honours were heaped upon him for his gallant, but unavailing defence, he survived but a few days to wear them.

Before the last shot was fired, the General and his staff left the Wellesley, the boats with the troops following in their wake, cheering the men-of-war as they passed through, the sailors returning the hurrahs through the ports.

We landed on a deserted beach; a few dead bodies, bows and arrows, broken spears and guns, remaining the sole occupants of the field.

The men arriving from the boats formed along the causeway in line, and the 18th advanced up the steps leading to the temple on the hill. On reaching the summit we distinguished the inner town, which had not been visible from the shipping: it was situated in a hollow in rear of the mount, and the bird's-eye view was very picturesque. On the walls were seen the banners of the Chinese soldiery, whilst the men crowded along the ramparts, beating their tomtoms and gongs, beckoning us with their hands to the attack as the troops became visible to them on the hill. They opened their wretched wall-pieces, which, from their construction, can neither traverse nor be depressed, and which, being charged with a bad description of powder, did no damage to the force.

In the course of two hours from the time of leaving the ships, the Madras artillery had four guns in position, and fired a few shells into the town; the advanced picquets were posted, and the Chinese fired upon the reconnoitring parties from the walls

wherever they became visible. The evening began to close in, and the commanding officers were desired to seek covering for the men, as Brig.-Gen. Burrell had determined not to attack the town before the following morning. Until 10 o'clock that night the Chinese kept up a dropping fire, under cover of which they afterwards appeared to have deserted the town.

During the evening the civil magistrate and some of his officers were killed by our shells, and the Governor drowned himself in a tank when accused of cowardice by his people.

On the following morning the desertion of the place became visible from the heights; and through the long vistas of the valleys thousands were seen flying, carrying their goods and chattels along with them. The bridge across the outer ditch having been demolished the previous evening, the troops were brought to a momentary halt; the great gate of the town, too, was found to be barricadoed, and the wall which surrounded the city to be of great strength. It was, however, soon scaled, and in a few minutes the banner of England was floating over the Chinese city of

Tinghai; the ramparts were found strewed with pikes, matchlocks, and a species of fire-rocket, arrow-headed; and on the parapets, packets of quick-lime were packed up, to blind the eyes of the barbarians had they endeavoured to mount the walls.

A few of the staff entered the town, accompanied by an interpreter, to quiet the fears of the inhabitants, whilst the troops remained in position on the outer side of the fosse.

The main street was nearly deserted, except here and there, where the frightened people were performing the kow-tow\* as we passed. On most of the houses was placarded "Spare our lives;" and on entering the jos-houses were seen men, women, and children, on their knees, burning incense to the gods; and although protection was promised them, their dread appeared in no manner relieved.

Many were posting down the back lanes into the country with their spoil, for we afterwards found the goods principally carried away were taken

\* A salute practised from an inferior to a superior, kneeling and striking the head upon the ground.

by plundering natives, not by the legitimate owners.

At last we came to the Chumpin's house: the gates leading to the entrance-yard were painted with huge ungainly figures, denoting, they said, Justice and Punishment. On one side was the Room of Justice, and thumbscrews and rattans were seen lying about. The path to the inner apartment, called the Hall of Ancestors, lay through an open court, round which were the offices of the government clerks. Some letters and papers half finished showed the haste with which they had evacuated the town. Passing through the court we entered a guardhouse, which led again to a trellised walk, at the south end of which was the hall. Here on the couches were the pipes half smoked, and the little cups filled with the untasted tea; cloaks, mandarins' caps, and swords lay about in confusion. Following up our research we at last came to the apartments of the ladies: these rooms were curiously furnished, and strewn with clothes of all descriptions and for all purposes. Silks, fans, china, little shoes, crutches, and paint-pots—the articles of a Chinese lady's

toilette—lay tossed in a sad and telltale *mélée* ; and many of these fairy shoes were appropriated by us as lawful *loot*.\*

Before sunrise that morning a fire had broken out in the suburbs where some of the regiments were quartered, and where the guns from the squadron on the previous day had done their chief havoc. At the hour it was first perceived the boats of the men-of-war were collecting with their seamen, to act as a reinforcement in the attack on the town. They were immediately countermanded, and directed to land with fire-buckets to assist in extinguishing the flames. It was still dark ; and the large warehouses on the beach were stored with *samshu*, a composition something like whisky, and extracted from rice. The ammunition of the dismounted ordnance was scattered on the ground ; and amidst the fallen ruins of the place the killed and wounded Chinese still lay stretched. The fire burst out in a sudden flame ; it soon communicated with some of the tubs of ammunition, which went off in loud explosions. The

\* A Bengalee word for plunder, at which, by-the-bye, they are peculiar adepts.



flames were then seen to leap along the tops of the houses containing the samshu; and these, blazing out in volumes of light, communicated with one another, until all the shipping in the harbour was illuminated with the blaze, the glare from the spirits shedding its sickly light over the soldiery and seamen.

Every endeavour had been made by the officers the previous evening to destroy the samshu, but it afterwards appeared the whole place was a manufactory and flooded with the spirit.

Some people imagine that the fire was occasioned by the Chinese, but it seems far more probable that it arose from the carelessness of the soldiery themselves. On board the Admiral's junk, to which we had borne the summons, were found five wounded men, who had been unable to make their escape with their comrades: the decks were covered with clotted blood, and the Admiral's papers, bowls, and *chopsticks*\* were still in his cabin, where he had taken his last meal: two of the men were dead, and upon two of the others some

\* Little ivory sticks, like ladies' netting-needles, which they use instead of spoons and forks.

medical men of the fleet had already performed amputation ; but the fifth, a young Mandarin who had accompanied the Admiral in the visit to the Wellesley, was writhing in agony ; and, seeing the operations that the doctors had performed, he pointed to his shattered limbs, and clasping his hands implored them by signs to do something for his relief ; but it was too desperate a case, and past all human remedy, so that in a few hours he breathed his last. This was the young man who had caused more interest on board the flag-ship than any of the rest, from the curiosity and frankness that he showed about everything.

The town of Tinghai, or Tinghai-een, covers a large space of ground at the mouth of a valley or rather gorge : the neighbouring hills are clothed with wild shrubs, of which the tea-plant is the most predominant. The city lies embosomed in luxuriant paddy, except towards the rear, where a beautiful hill commands the whole town, dotted with clumps of fine trees, part of it being included within the wall, and the fortifications that encircle the town. Two paved roads lead down to the suburbs on the shore, a distance of about

three-quarters of a mile flanked on the left by the Jos-house hill. The buildings in and near seem to consist of large warehouses belonging to the merchants of the town, and are very convenient for shipping, and landing their cargoes. Tingshai is surrounded by a wall, about sixteen feet in thickness and twenty in height : there are four gates, agreeing with the cardinal points of the compass, traversed much in the form of Marhattah forts, the principal one being on the southern point facing the sea. The wall is surrounded by a canal, which acts as a ditch to the fortification, except at the north-west angle. Two powder-magazines, situated, the one on the southern and the other on the eastern face, were found neatly packed and filled with ammunition, and with implements for the manufacture of powder : on the walls were mounted gingalls and cannon of various calibres, but none exceeding a nine-pounder ; and wall-pieces with shifting breeches, each having eight or nine spare breeches attached to it, ready loaded. The streets are narrow, and many of the houses dry rubbed, and polished outside ; but the roofs are the most picturesque part of the buildings. Many

of the respectable houses have pretty gardens attached to them, with a high wall shutting them out entirely from the town. The interior of some of the houses were found beautifully furnished and carved ; one that is now inhabited by the governor, and believed to have been the property of a literary character was, when first opened, the wonder and admiration of all. The different apartments open round the centre court, which is neatly tiled ; the doors, window-frames, and pillars that support the pent-roof, are carved in the most chaste and delicate style, and the interior of the ceiling and wainscot are lined with fret-work, which it must have required the greatest nicety and care to have executed. The furniture was in the same keeping, denoting a degree of taste the Chinese have not in general credit for with us. The bed-places in the sleeping apartments of the ladies were large dormitories, for they can hardly be called beds : at one corner of the room is a separate chamber, about eight feet square, and the same in height ; the exterior of this is usually painted red, carved, and gilt ; the entrance is through a circular aperture, three feet in diameter, with sliding pannels ;

in the interior is a couch of large proportions covered with a soft mat and thick curtains of mandarin silk: the inside of the bed is polished and painted, and a little chair and table are the remaining furniture of this extraordinary dormitory.

Many of the public buildings excited great astonishment among those who fancied they were in a half-barbarous country. Their public arsenals were found stocked with weapons of every description, placed with the greatest neatness and regularity in their different compartments; the clothes for the soldiers were likewise ticketed, labelled, and packed in large presses; and the arrows, which from their size and strength drew particular attention, were carefully and separately arranged. To each arsenal is attached a fire-engine similar to those used in our own country.

The government pawnbroker's shop was also a source of interest; in it were found dresses and articles of every kind, evidently things belonging to the upper as well as to the lower classes, for many of the furs here taken were of valuable descriptions; each article had the owner's name attached, and the date of its being pawned: this is another of

the plans of the local government for raising their supplies. In the treasury there was a sad deficit for the prize-agents, no bullion being discovered in the chests ; this, however, had been evidently cleared out by the government servants.

The town is intersected with canals, which run at the back of many of the principal streets, thereby enabling the inhabitants to take their goods without trouble from their own doors to any part of the city, and thus communicate with the suburbs and port, with the greatest facility, by the water-gate, which was blocked up at our first entrance.

Some of the jos-houses in this place, from what we have seen and heard from others, are to be surpassed by none in China. In Lord Macartney's mission, the one at Macao is mentioned as the finest specimen they saw in the whole tour ; but all those who have visited the principal ones at Tinghai agree in their great superiority over the latter. In the great temple, some of the figures in the principal hall are upwards of fifteen feet high, handsomely wrought, standing in the centre on a lofty pedestal, while around the walls

are small images of the same description in all sorts of grotesque attitudes. We were particularly struck by one, the figure of a woman, with a child apparently issuing from her breast, and a glory round her head. It seems difficult to say from what this has arisen, unless from pictures of the Virgin, which the Chinese formerly obtained from the Jesuit missionaries, and have thus distorted. A white elephant was likewise a great subject of discussion, being hitherto known only as a figure of worship in Birmah and Siam.

Had the Chinese made a desperate resistance, which they seemed inclined to do on the previous night, as their women were then in the town, they would have occasioned the troops some trouble; but the capture by escalade of the hill, which would naturally have been the point of attack, would soon have given them into our hands; and as escape would then have been impossible, the loss of life amongst them must probably have been severe; this, however, they eluded by their timely retreat. Very few women were found in any of the houses, although, as it afterwards appeared, whole families of Chinese were then residing in the town, locked

up in their dwellings, and were not discovered until the ulterior occupation of the city by the troops for winter quarters. All the women we saw here had the little feet, which to the south is generally the appendage of the higher orders, and made use of a crutch when walking. Many of the silks taken in the houses of mandarins and people of wealth were of the finest textures, and covered with magnificent embroideries.

On the 7th of July Admiral Elliot was signalled as lying off the harbour, and on the following day he anchored in the outer ground. In attempting to enter the mouth of the narrow passage, where I mentioned that the Wellesley came into collision with the steamer, the Melville struck upon the rock, and it soon became evident that she had received serious damage; the Admiral, therefore, anchoring her outside, came into the harbour in a steamer, and arrived on board the Wellesley, on which, as his own ship was obliged to be hove down to refit, he shortly afterwards hoisted his flag.

General Oglander, who died on the passage, was buried on the 11th, as it had been the wish of



his regiment that he should be interred on shore. The Chinese were convinced that he had been killed on the 5th, and reported to the government at Peking that one of the *barbarian eyes* had died under the thunder of the Chinese wrath at the taking of Tinghai, and that they had knocked a great hole in the bottom of the barbarian vessel. Although this interment was from the best feelings of regard and respect, as the last mark that men can pay to the memory of their commanding officer, it would seem better in an expedition of this nature to have avoided it for political reasons.

The first act of Admiral Elliot was to place a close blockade upon the harbour of Ningpo, a large city of great wealth and trade, situated on the main land opposite the island of Chusan. He had, previously to his arrival, despatched Captain Boucher, in the *Blonde*, 46, to Amoy, a flourishing city further south, on the Fokeen coast, to endeavour, if possible, to deliver a letter to be forwarded to the court at Peking by the authorities of the place.

On arriving off that harbour he found a high hill strongly fortified, for China, and troops posted

at different positions. On the same evening a boat was sent to the shore, bearing a flag of truce, rowed by four boys, with an officer and interpreter. On approaching the land, the garrison, who were drawn up on the beach, fired upon the boat; the crew then pushed off, and endeavoured to expostulate at some distance, but with no effect; as a last resource, they spread the painted chop they had taken ready prepared in case of difficulties, which set forth the reason of their arrival, and informed the people that their mandarins were misleading them, as the English came in friendly guise to deliver a letter for their sovereign—but, it was added, that as they had now broken all civilised law by firing on a flag that was held sacred, they must take the consequences: the captain, however, being unwilling to harm the natives not connected with the mandarins, the garrison were here warned to escape before the vessel opened her broadside upon the fort. The Chinese, in the mean time, opened a fire from the fortifications upon the Blonde, which was warmly returned by Captain Boucher, who now endeavoured to give them a lesson for their pre-

sumption. The beach was soon vacated, and, after firing for two hours and a half, the evening became so dark that the Blonde was obliged to sheer off, having given them a severe chastisement, although, from the great strength of the masonry, unable totally to dismantle the fortification.

The Chinese are described by those engaged here to have shown no want of personal courage; nor did it appear that any imputation could be cast upon them at Chusan, where our force was so infinitely superior and their defences so utterly puerile.

An endeavour of the same kind to forward a letter was made at Ningpo, which met with a more civilised reception, though equally bad success. Captain Bethen went inshore in his gig, and was met by some mandarins, who invited him to land, and showed every mark of civility. The white flag was explained to be a sign of peace, and that, during the continuance of its being hoisted a cessation of hostilities existed; it was moreover explained that to break the law, by firing on a flag of that description, was accounted a disgraceful

and cowardly act by all civilised nations. From that day, the different communications have been always carried on in this manner between the two powers.

The letter they at first took on shore, but returned it the next morning, as they said they dared not forward a chop of such a nature to the court; but still their behaviour betokened none of the hostility shown on the Fokeen coast, and the word barbarian was omitted, and honourable nation substituted in its place.

A few days afterwards, having accompanied the Admiral into the mouth of Ningpo harbour, we were much struck with its natural strength. The entrance lies between two hills, three and four hundred feet high: on the summit of the left was a small tower, and on the slope of the other were the tents of the soldiery. The town of Ching-hai is surrounded by a strong wall, but they have taken no advantage of the position. A line of junks had been sunk across the mouth of the river, and another lay grappled athwart the entrance.

By the 15th of July things appeared a little more flourishing in the town of Tinghai; a few shops

began to open, and if at that moment a promise could have been held out to the inhabitants of our ultimate tenure of the island, there is little doubt the results would have been more favourable; but the people, who were making a harvest among the troops, saw that, unless we could secure them against a return of the mandarins, they would necessarily be the first persons pounced upon at the resumption of their power; so that before the 25th of the month the place was more deserted than ever, and became a harbour for only villains and robbers.

The houses were actually gutted by these natives; the furniture, even to the door-posts, being carried away; for the orders were strict that no Chinese was to be stopped at the gates, although carrying goods of any description. The mischief and loss of property thus perpetrated in broad daylight before the eyes of the soldiers, was owing to a mistaken lenity, which thus enriched only thieves and plunderers, as the right owners and respectable inhabitants had fled with their mandarins.

A great misfortune to this expedition was the scarcity of interpreters, Mr. Morrison having only

two assistants, Mr. Thoms and Dr. Gutzlaff, the former of whom was entirely taken up with public chops and other translations ; so that two only remained for the use of the troops on shore, and their duties were necessarily far more than two persons were equal to perform. It is but justice to these talented men to remark that, although they were most severely employed, their ready attention to the frequent calls upon their time was the admiration of all those with whom they were required to co-operate.

As I walked one evening during this period from a temple where I had been on duty with the Adjutant-General, my path lay alongside a tank, on the border of which a sentry was posted to protect the magistrate's office. He had under his charge a Chinese prisoner seized for some slight offence. Having passed on to the office, I remarked, on my return in an hour's time, the same sentry looking anxiously in the water and his charge missing ; casting my eyes in the same direction, I saw a man's head and long tail floating in the tank, which was scarcely knee deep. The prisoner must have been so terrified at the

ordeal to be undergone, that he sprung from the sentry's charge into the water ; and he, not conceiving, to use his own expression, that the man would or could drown himself in a puddle, left him there to cool.—So determined and frightened, however, at the new barbarian lawgivers had the poor man been, that he must have held his head under the water until life was totally extinct ; for when taken out, although medical aid was immediately procured, not the slightest symptom of animation was apparent.

---

## CHAPTER IV.

A compradore carried off by the Chinese—Expedition to recover him—Interior of the island—Chinese graves—Chinese country house—Seizure of guides—The bandit's house and wife—The bandit's escape—Harassing march—Disputed passage of a bridge—Sufferings of the soldiers—Night scene on the coast—A Chinese monastery.

A NATIVE compradore\* who had been attached to the Commissary's department, and had come from Canton, was carried away on the 17th instant by the country people, when foraging in the interior. For a week previous he had been of the most essential use to the troops, bringing supplies of cattle, and being a Chinaman he was likewise acquainted with the habits of the people, and was often employed by means of his Canton English† as an interpreter in default of a better. A butcher who had accompanied him into the country in the morning returned with the intel-

\* A purveyor.

† A jargon of Portuguese, English, and Chinese.



ligence that he had been seized by mandarin soldiers, and was carried away pig fashion upon a pole. Immediately a body of men was placed under arms, and prepared to march to the rescue. During the time that elapsed I was endeavouring to obtain the services of an interpreter for the party, and found a little Canton boy, one of the money counters in the Pay-office ; and notwithstanding his dread and horror, and expostulations of " Mandalee he catchee me," as he was the only one to be found for this emergency, he was taken. On my return, however, the officer under whose charge the party was preparing had permitted the Tinghai butcher to escape, and thus all clue was lost to our unfortunate servant: Had a proper guard been placed over him, much ulterior misfortune would probably have been avoided, as, had the Chinese failed in this their first endeavour of the kind, there is little doubt the signal punishment they would have received would have prevented any like attempts. The only thing then left was to scour the island, and two parties were sent out at different points for the purpose.

On the following morning, having received orders from the Commander-in-Chief to accompany a third party to traverse the island, and proceed to a sea-port town that was believed, by the intelligence gained from China maps, to be on the north-western coast, I was directed to communicate with the two parties of the previous day, who had been ordered to take different routes and rendezvous at that place. In case no intelligence could be gained of the compradore, directions were given to seize the most respectable of the inhabitants and heads of districts, and thus to gain if possible hostages for his safety,

We started on the morning of the 18th at four o'clock, the party consisting of an officer and forty men, accompanied by Mr. Thoms the interpreter, the same gentleman who was fired upon at Ningpo.

The road or rather path was flagged with large square blocks of stone, of sufficient breadth to allow three persons to walk abreast. Through this town, and indeed over the whole island, the roads were of the same description; and from what we have since seen of the tracts of the main land, they appear all on the same model, and of

the same breadth. Lord Macartney, however, describes the road leading from Pekin to Zehol, the emperor's Tartar palace, as remarkable for its great width, but what we had an opportunity of seeing were certainly not royal roads.

After traversing for some miles a luxuriant sea of paddy-fields, the way wound up the side of the mountains, through a lonely pass: the path here was cut into easy flights of steps, and these passages, which are numerous through the whole island, are all formed in the same manner.

The surrounding hills were covered with the tea-plant, cotton, dwarf oak, and a species of arbutus, rich with its red fruits; whilst their lofty summits towered on high, clad in the bright green pasture. The long valleys seen from the ascent stretched from the mouths of the different ravines, some lost in the many windings in the hills, whilst others again swept down to the sea-shore, laden with their luxuriant crops of rice, bending to the morning breeze; and far away over the curious buildings of Tinghai the British fleet lay anchored on the sleeping water. Here and there, as if dropped at random upon

the sides of the hills, were clumps of fine trees ; and peeping through their thick foliage, the roofs of houses and temples diversified the scene. Amongst many of the beautiful groves of trees which here invite the wanderer to repose, spots are selected as the resting-places of mortality ; and gazing on these tranquil scenes, where the sweet clematis and fragrant flowers help to decorate the last home of man, the most careless eye cannot fail to mark the beauties of the grave.

It is still a matter of doubt whether the Chinese do not carry their veneration of the dead to the point of adoration ; and some centuries ago the Jesuits, the first missionary labourers in this country, finding it impossible to freeze up the warm affections felt upon this point, turned it into their own channel by inculcating the prayers for the dead upon their proselytes. This, however, the Church of Rome at that period did not approve of ; and it was one of the first reasons for the admission of other orders to assist them in their apostolic duties, which afterwards led to the many differences in doctrine amongst Catholic missionaries in China.

The natives of this island do not inter their dead as in the southern provinces ; but the corpse is placed upon the ground in a wooden coffin, covered with a lid, easily removed, highly polished, round which the wild flowers and creepers blossom. In most of the houses we entered on the island, these large boxes were the first article that met the eye in the entrance-chamber. In the tenanted graves which curiosity induced us to open, the body appeared dressed as in life, the pipe and tobacco lay on the breast, and loaves and rice at the unconscious head.

As we advanced on our march the neighbouring hills were clustered with people, who had fled from the villages at our approach ; and in the course of the morning, having fallen in with one of the parties of the previous evening, who had bivouacked for the past night in a temple, we determined to halt for a few hours, to rest the wearied men, some of whom, from the excessive heat and disease, had been obliged to return. Two dozen fowls were soon seized and plucked, and in a few moments were cooking on the fire for the men's broth.

The officer commanding the party had gained no intelligence of our lost comrade; but during the men's breakfast we walked on to some of the neighbouring houses. They were all deserted except one, which appeared to belong to the head man of the district; it was buried in a grove of palm and citron trees, and other shrubs unknown to us; and surrounded by a garden where the Cape jessamine and other sweet flowers perfumed the neighbourhood.

The building was a good specimen of their country dwellings: on entering through a large wooden gateway we found a yard or court, surrounded on two sides by different out-houses serving as granaries and places to dry fruit, whilst the remaining sides were the apartments of the family and the Hall of Ancestors, a room used in common by all the members of the household. The reason of the large size of these farm-houses is obvious, when it is taken into consideration that they generally contain a father, mother, sons, their wives and children. The front of the Hall of Ancestors was prettily trellised over, and rested on pillars dry rubbed and carved; the interior of this large

room was surrounded with matted sofas ; and little tables stood in the centre, on which were placed the tea-cups and pipes. Under the projecting roof was seated a venerable man, with a long white beard betokening him to be a grandfather, for they never permit its growth until that period. The rest appeared to have fled ; and he looked so lonely and desolate, with the tears streaming down his withered face, that, although, from a circumstance mentioned by the interpreter, we were convinced that the compradore had been taken in the neighbourhood of the village, we could not find it in our hearts to capture this patriarch, although he proved to be the elder of the district, and acknowledged having heard the people carrying off the man the previous morning. As his information, however, went no further, we returned to the temple ; and having left instructions with the officer what course to pursue, I pushed on again with my party. Still the heat was intense, and as the men kept continually falling out from its effects, we determined to surround a village and procure coolies to carry the packs.

Swerving a little from the road we were following, which led through a thick grove, hiding us from the Chinese scouts, who were watching from every height our advance, we pushed forward half the party with the officer, whilst the rest of the body retraced their steps, as it seemed likely that the people would have returned to the villages in the rear, through which we had already passed, thinking themselves secure for the present from another visitation ; while, on the other hand, our advance was so rapidly communicated to those in front by signals on the hills, that on our arrival the places were already deserted.

Placing a cordon in the thick bamboo and low jungle, we directed the men on a concerted signal to rush in and fire their pieces in the air, so as to confuse the inhabitants ; otherwise we knew from previous endeavours that they would be sure to elude us in the dykes or intricate paths. The plan succeeded to admiration, and we seized a sufficient number for our purpose, some of whom were found hid in the large earthen pots always in the rear of Chinese houses for catching rain-water.



A small party had taken up a position in a neighbouring temple, armed merely with their implements of agriculture: with these we held a parley through the interpreter, who told them that we had no injurious intentions, but that, as they chose to fly from us, we were obliged to use force to show them our purposes were amicable, and that we required the services of the men we had taken, but would repay them for their labour.

During the conversation two little children stole out of one of the houses, and although they were at first terrified by the strangers, I succeeded in tempting one, a very pretty child, to play with a gay cap I wore on my head. A few quarter-dollars soon made us great friends; and the people, seeing we were not the bloody-minded barbarians they expected, became as troublesome from their curiosity and familiarity as they had formerly been coy. No part of our dress was left untouched, and our hands were examined, by which they appeared to judge of our situations in life.

At length we took our departure with the captive band, who were no longer unwilling to work; we soon overtook the rest of the party, and

having slung the packs on bamboos, placed the Chinese in the centre. This may seem at first a summary method of proceeding, but it was not more than necessity compelled us to do ; being in the heart of a hostile multitude, it was impossible for us to leave in the rear single men, who from the weight of their packs were unable to keep up ; and the different roads had become so numerous that all chance of keeping the right path was lost, unless we obtained a native of the island as a guide.

Our halting-places were generally in the temples, and the village supplied us with provisions. The Chinese, so far as these jos-houses are concerned, show very little respect for their religion. Amongst themselves they put them to the same purpose as we did for our troops, and mandarins and travellers of all descriptions use them as caravanseries on their journeys ; the mandarins, indeed, if their rank is superior to the jos's as a god, place the latter outside the building during their sojourn.

On the third evening we reached a small town buried in a thick wood, the entrance to which was

over a curious bridge, formed, like most of those in Tinghai, of three blocks of stone or rather slabs, the centre piece lying parallel to the water, whilst the one on each side slants upwards from the bank, resting at one end on the land, and at the other dovetailed into the centre stone. These are often seen fourteen feet long by four or five in breadth; how they manage to place them in the position seems extraordinary, as no machinery for the purpose has been found, and they say it is done merely by manual labour.

On this bridge we were met by five respectable old gentlemen, dressed in white: they came forward, and, bowing respectfully, begged to know what was our demand, and why we were thus wandering through the country? They informed us that they were the elders of the district, and invited us into the jos-house, where refreshments would be brought, and we could then “*diligently investigate.*” Having left the soldiers at the entrance of the place, Mr. Thoms, the interpreter, and myself proceeded to the temple: our errand was soon told, and after a long consultation amongst themselves, one of them came forward and offered

to lead us to the house of the chief of the band who had taken prisoner our man; but on condition that the soldiers should be left in the village whilst we should accompany a party of villagers to surround the house: to this we agreed, leaving directions with the officer, in case he heard firing, to make the best of his way to our assistance.

Having loaded our fire-arms in case of emergency or guile on their parts, we accompanied our new-found allies, and proceeded to the robber's den, as they called it. It appeared that the owner had been a noted bandit, and was imprisoned at the time of our capture of Tinghai for his evil deeds, and released the evening of the flight of the mandarins; his present exploit having been planned to curry favour with the government of Ningpo.

We surrounded and entered the house, but the bird was flown; and, although in the search pots and pans were not forgotten, there appeared no signs of the thief: however, in one of the beds a woman was discovered in a burning fever, from which at this time the natives were suffering severely. This lady was the bandit's bride; she

would however give no account of her husband, and declared he had been absent for two days. The natives urged our taking her as a hostage, but it did not agree with our English ideas to hurt the gentle sex. However, this is the course the mandarins pursue, and the whole family is made responsible for the crime of the culprit if he is not forthcoming : this is the great hold they have on the people, and they often carry it to the most unjust and cruel lengths.

Whilst I was parleying by signs with the lady I heard the sounds of a terrible scuffle in the upper apartments, and found that it was occasioned by the interpreter, who, while busily employed in investigating the garrets, had stumbled over a bundle of rice-straw, from under which a man jumped up, and after a severe struggle had made his exit by the window, out of which the former gentleman was now anxiously looking for his reappearance, to take a shot at the fugitive ; we immediately followed on the trail, but he dodged, and we lost him.

Having thus failed in our object, the only thing left was to take the principal inhabitants of the

village, and burn the house : the former was accordingly done, but the house, in consideration of the lady, whose removal would have been dangerous, we left standing. On the following day we arrived at the sea-port on the coast ; but the men had nearly all been so severely attacked by agues and dysentery, from the malaria of the paddy-grounds, that how to get them back became a matter of consideration. Fortunately the next morning a steamer came in with the second plenipotentiary on board, having been sent round for the purpose of stopping the junks between the island and the main land.

We had, however, another day's journey to take, to seize the heads of a suspected place, about nine miles distant along the coast.

The terrible heat rendered this march most harassing : our party was now increased, by the party that had joined us at the sea-port, to fifty men, but in a few hours, more than half fell out from weakness and disease, and were obliged to return. In the place to which we were ordered were said to be some mandarin soldiers, so that our present strength was small in case of resistance.

As we advanced, scouts were seen scouring along the hills, who had been witnesses to the havoc sickness had already caused amongst the small party; and when we came within sight of the town it seemed crowded with people and surrounded by a low wall, which they lined. We made signs to them that we had no hostile intention, but took care to leave a party in reserve behind a thicket, whilst we entered with the remainder. The only way to take hold of the principal men was, we knew, to get them into a parley; so, having begged some of the rabble to inform the elders that we were waiting for an interview, we entered an apothecary's shop, where they sell plasters of all descriptions; and the doctors who generally reside in them, being a superior class of people, make them a favourite resort for idlers. Here we sat down, and in a short time two of the principal men arrived. After some conversation we beckoned to the soldiers to surround the door, and the interpreter, placing his arm in one of theirs, and myself in the other, told them that the *Tagchune*\* at Tinghai required their presence.

\* *Tagchune*—literally, great man.

They at first resisted our soft persuasions, but hearing the noise of the soldiers fixing bayonets, they thought it best to comply. As our party was weak, and the people had collected in the streets to many hundreds, it was a moment of considerable suspense ; for the mob frequently attempted to press in, though still kept at a distance by the soldiers' bayonets. At the end of the town was a narrow bridge, which required to be passed in single file ; here, as had seemed most probable from the demonstration, they made a stand. It would have been folly to have advanced across the bridge as long as there was no spot on the opposite side to make a stand upon, and the only feasible plan was to endeavour to clear our front. We had bound the prisoners with our handkerchiefs to our wrists, in case in the scuffle they should escape, and the interpreter, addressing the people, told them that no injury was intended to the men in our possession, but that one of our people had been carried off by some inhabitants of the district, and these were the guarantees we should keep for his safety ; that their rescuing the prisoners alive was quite impossible ; they were



therefore advised to clear a way, or the consequences must fall upon themselves.

Having left some of the soldiers on the bank to act as a covering party, the remainder advanced in single file, but before the leading file had placed his foot on the second flag, the Chinese made a rush for the entrance of the bridge, when at a volley from the covering party the whole mass in another moment were scampering over the hills. This speaks but badly for Chinese courage; but it must be recollected that they had never seen a fire-arm but of the most wretched description, and had never known what it was to oppose a regular force. The worst weapon to them was the long whip of the mandarin police; the few soldiers also that might have been seen amongst the crowd had no leaders to direct them.

In the course of that night we arrived again on the coast, and found that the steamer was waiting to carry us off. One wounded Chinaman, a prisoner who had attempted to escape, had both his legs shot through by a musket-ball; and the tenderness of the wearied soldiers in carrying him deserves the greatest credit.

From five o'clock that morning, these brave fellows, bowed down by the enervating effects of a disease the most harassing that man can be subjected to, showed that their courage, though not called out in the active manner of their forefathers, was yet equal to it in its untiring and undaunted ardour. Through that long night, (the path having been mistaken in the darkness,) still suffering from the effects of the day's heat, which is nowhere in India more terrible than here, without one morsel to eat, they bore the wounded man over the high and craggy rocks, and down their steep sides for many miles, without a murmur, until past midnight; and this is the power of endurance which raises the British soldier to his proud pre-eminence amongst the armies of Europe.

The whole length of this coast is deeply indented with bays running up amongst the projecting rocks, which, from their sudden and precipitous formation, shut out the near approach to the sea. It was along these cliffs that the little band had to make their midnight scramble. Breaking into parties of three or four, they each sought their

own path to where the expected boats were supposed to be waiting ; and in a few hours each cove had its occupants, who had straggled down to the strand and become too fatigued to proceed farther. Then began the shouting ; and the firing ran all along the line of coast as each party endeavoured to direct the boats to its own position. It resembled more the embarkation of a routed force than an embarkation of the conquerors of the country. While we were pushing off from the shore in a captured boat, the flashes of musketry from the different coves, and here and there single shots from the brow of the cliffs, spread a momentary glare over the craggy scene, making visible for an instant the descending soldiers and their naval comrades perched like tired sea-fowl along the rocks ; and louder than the beating of the wild surf fell the voices of the captains and military officers, re-echoed by the halloos of seamen and soldiers. Had the Chinese but made an effort to take their revenge on us during this midnight embarkation, they might, from their knowledge of the different paths, have had a fair opportunity of cutting us off in detail ; but at this time they

seemed so completely paralysed by the blow that had been just struck, that no such thoughts entered their heads.

At last we trod safe on board the steamer, and found our Chinese prisoners already secured, having despatched them with a fresh guard on our arrival on the coast. The wounded man was put under the surgeon's care; and in the course of a month he was so far recovered as to be able to return to his friends. Very little information was gained from these people that could lead to the discovery of those implicated in the com-pradore's abduction; but they all agreed in charging the robber as the chief culprit.

In the passage to Tinghai we passed by Pou-too, a small island within musket-shot of Chusan: this is a curious spot, not only from its natural beauties, which are very great, and thought by those who had been at Canton to resemble it, with its rocky stairs winding along the sides of the hills, clothed with citron and other trees, but also on account of its being the Mecca of the Chinese religion, to which the worshippers of Budh make frequent pilgrimages, somewhat in

the style of the Mussulman Hadji. It possesses a large temple, or rather a number of temples, buried in the rocks and jungle; more curious and picturesque, however, from their situation, than from any great magnificence in the structure. Attached to it is a monastery, containing some fifty priests, who seemed proud of their possession, and anxious that visitors should admire it. The old father of this monastery was upwards of eighty years of age: they all complained of a great scarcity of food, as their livelihood consists in the offerings to the gods presented by the worshippers to the temple, and these, during the late troubles, had been differently employed. It was agreed at the time that something should be done to endeavour to minister to their relief; but some weeks afterwards other parties of military visiting the same place, found that starvation had driven many from their hold, and the poor old father was fast travelling to his long home from the want of the necessaries of life.

---

## CHAPTER V.

**Expedition to the Gulf of Pechelee—Pirate junks—Landing at the mouth of the Peiho—The Chinese Commissioner, Kea'shen—Pe, or Captain White—Manchoo Tartary—Value of brass buttons—Bar at the mouth of the Peiho—Means of access to Peking—Interview with the Chinese Commissioner—Polished manners of the Chinese—Kea'shen described—An entertainment—The Tartar body-guard—"The bad business"—State of the Chinese Empire—Great wall of China—Result of the conference—Policy of Kea'shen—A Mandarin's appetite.**

**JULY 28th.**—Sailed from Chusan the *Wellesley*, *Pylades*, *Blonde*, *Volage*, and *Modeste*, one steamer, *Madagascar*, and ten transports with pennants, destined for the mouth of the Peiho. So little, however, was expected to be gained from this expedition, that the policy of proceeding north was questioned by many who proposed that operations should immediately be undertaken against Ningpo for the recovery of the compradore, to which place he had been traced.

Sir Gordon Bremer was left at Chusan in chief command with the rest of the squadron, amongst

which was the Melville preparing to heave down to refit.

During our passage the Pylades corvette, Captain Anson, fell in with three pirate junks, and, not being aware of their character, sent two of her boats to board one. As soon as they ranged alongside, upwards of one hundred men started up, who had hitherto kept themselves concealed, and commenced firing and hurling spears and stinkpots upon the crews of the boats. Our men immediately shoved off a short distance, and pouring in some well-directed volleys killed more than half of the number, and the remainder jumped overboard and made for the shore, which many were never destined to reach in their wounded state. The junk was then burnt and set adrift, but the Pylades was unable to come up with the remaining two, with whom she had no chance while they were running before the wind. However, in this affair she had two men killed and five others wounded. These junks, and the men-of-war, carry nets along the quarter, to throw over small boats that may come alongside in a *mélée*, which, if done effectually, renders them an easy prey. On the 8th of August we passed the Quesan group, where appeared no want of

fresh provisions, for some of the islands were black with cattle grazing on the hill-tops.

The features of the main-land had here undergone a great change: the mountains were still high, but a southern climate no longer dressed them in its rich foliage. The sides of the hills, however, seemed to afford rich pasture-land, and flocks of sheep and goats were thickly scattered over them. The summits we could discern plainly through our glasses covered with people gazing on the barbarian vessels, and the *fire-ships* (the name they gave the steamers) must have added not a little to their astonishment. On the 10th we anchored eleven miles off the mouth of the Peiho, and on the following day an officer entered the river accompanied by four boats to deliver a chop, to the first officer he came across, for the local authorities.

The coast has here a wretched appearance, being low and flat, and is not visible five miles from the shore; at the entrance of the river are two small forts, and on our first arrival one of them, on the left bank, was quite dismantled, but long before we parted company the Chinese had reorganised their whole fortifications, and were



even at this time perceptible from the boats hard at work in the entrenchments.

On the boats touching the shore, the mandarins hurried off, splashing through the water, with the mud splattered up to the knees of their silk boots. The object of their haste was to beg that the party would approach no closer in-shore, and likewise to bring the intelligence that the high Mandarin Kea'shen, governor of the province of Pechelee and third member of the cabinet at Pekin, was then at Tarkou, a town four miles from the mouth of the river, where it appeared that he had been waiting the arrival of the expedition for some days, having been despatched by command of the Emperor to meet the British mission at this point. This plainly showed that, although the mandarins at Ningpo refused our request to forward the chop given in then by captain Bethune, which they returned the following morning, a copy must have been taken of its contents and forwarded to Pekin, or they would not have been thus prepared for our reception. One of their reasons for refusing to transmit it was, that it was not properly addressed, their communications with the Court being carried on in the form of *humble petitions*.

Kea'shen, although the third member of the cabinet, is generally believed to be the ruling voice, as the two seniors are so old and infirm, that they are said to be unable to attend to public business.

On receiving the despatch from the officer, one of the mandarins mounted and rode off to Tarkou, and in a couple of hours returned with the chop from the Tagchune for the plenipotentiary.

It appeared from the answer that Kea'shen was not authorised to treat, but merely to receive the letter for the Emperor, and that previous to entering into any discussion he was first to forward the intelligence of the arrival of the squadron to Peking, and wait for directions. Ten days was the time required to receive our answer from the Court, and that time was accordingly granted. It would be the height of injustice to omit to record the name of the gentleman who was, during our stay off and on at this place, the medium of communication—*Pe*, or Captain White, as he was familiarly called by his friends in the squadron, being a man of considerable importance, whose intelligence has no doubt long since gained for him a superior button. His functions were those of aid-de-camp

and greyhound to the commissioner; a white button denoted his rank as captain of cavalry, and his high-flown language and praise of the talents of Kea'shen showed his superior fitness for his situation: in fact he was a most agreeable and amusing companion; and the "doughty deeds" that it had been the intention of the Emperor to perform with 30,000 Tartar troops in the retaking of the island of Chusan, but for the peaceful advice of his master, were quite astounding to the listening foreigners.

The squadron now separated to sail in different directions along the Tartar and Pechelee coasts, whilst we ran over in the Volage to Manchoo Tartary. This country is tributary to both China and Japan, but appears more dependent on the latter; the men are remarkably athletic, tall, and jealous of their women, and the country not unlike parts of the western coast of Scotland. They seemed to live chiefly on vegetables, varied at times by puppy's flesh; in many of the houses we found these little creatures fattening for their fate; for although they have plenty of bullocks, they employ them only for agricultural purposes; and all through China and along this coast, milk, the

principal article of diet among European peasantry, is not used. We remarked that the Chinese at Chusan laughed immoderately at our soldiers milking the goats, as they think it unnatural that men should drink the milk of animals. However, the Tartars to the westward are said by travellers to live entirely on the milk obtained from the camel ; so this must be a peculiarity of the people of Manchoo derived from the Chinese.

We found the most useful articles of barter here were the brass buttons on a naval jacket, the worth of one being estimated far higher than a Spanish dollar, of which they did not seem at first to comprehend the value ; for a button kindly furnished me from the jacket of a friend, I became the owner of a sheep and some poultry, and I suspect both purchaser and seller were equally proud of their ability at barter.

Their houses are much the same as in China, but the mode of cultivating the land must be here laborious. All the hills are terraced to the summit, on account of the severe rains to which they are subject, and which often sweep the whole side of a hill into the valley below. Traces of these

devastations meet the sight on every side, showing how necessary is the precaution.

Labouring under severe illness, I was unable to join the sporting parties of the gallant Captain and his officers in their expeditions into the interior ; but by their description the sport was excellent, and from the marshes, snipes and wild-fowl arose in thousands ; however, the execution done might have led to a different idea ; but it was generally imagined to be the fault of the guns, which an Indian climate was supposed to have relaxed as well as the sportsmen.

On the morning of the 24th we came again to anchor in the mouth of the Peiho, and on the following days the rest of the fleet arrived.

A few days afterwards the admiral and suite went on board the steamer, with the intention of entering the river, and a naval officer was directed to mark the channel in over the bar ; but although Captain Dyce, the master, had taken the vessel in during the previous springs, it was now found to be impracticable to force her over.

It being still the top of the springs, upon the following day it was determined again to make

the attempt; and the *Modeste corvette* was ordered to bear up and follow in, as she only drew twelve feet; and thirteen appeared to have been the depth on the shoal at the top of the last springs; but this again failed owing to the shallowness of the water. No doubt, had this succeeded, and the two vessels anchored inside under the forts, it would have been of the greatest importance in hastening the negotiations; once in, they could not have come out for a fortnight, as the water would not again permit their exit until that period; thus giving a fair excuse for our position to the Chinese: the preliminary arrangements would in this way have been placed on the most advantageous footing.\*

Had the Chinese turned restive, eight hours would have taken the steamer and corvette, filled with seamen, marines, and field-pieces, to the town of Teensing, at the head of the Great Canal, the depôt of all their northern trade and supplies. Their fleet of junks being there burnt, an event which would have crippled their means of sending

\* At least we knew nothing to the contrary; and from the descriptions of previous visitors many believed it to be practicable.

reinforcements to the mouth of the river, and the town being set on fire, nearly within sight of the imperial city, must have caused a panic and distress that would have shaken the empire to its very base; they seemed to be aware that this was feasible, and dreaded it themselves.

At this point conciliation was their object, for here the Government became most vulnerable, and a blow here would strike terror to the very foot of the throne. It was generally supposed that this failure was an annoyance to the heads of the expedition, who fully appreciated the advantages such a situation would have given them; but from the ulterior arrangements its accomplishment was perhaps of slight moment.

In course of the afternoon of the 28th three mandarin junks were distinguished pushing off from the shore; they soon came alongside with our friend, Captain White, and another mandarin, bringing a letter from Kea'shen and a cargo of bullocks and fruit; the chop was to request an interview with the second plenipotentiary, Captain Elliot. As a mandarin of the commissioner's exalted rank could not think of trusting his person

to the mercy of the waves, Sunday the 30th of August was fixed upon as the day for the interview, and arrangements were to be made accordingly for the reception of the mission.

On that morning Captain Elliot, accompanied by the gentlemen attached to the mission and three or four naval officers, proceeded to the entrance of the river. Six boats, manned and privately armed, in case of accidents, accompanied us ; we pushed off from the steamer before daylight, but the tide changing before entering the river, the pull was very severe for the men.

Two miles from the town we were met by a mandarin junk, on board of which were two officers of rank, one with the red button in his cap, who was the general of the Emperor's Tartar body-guard, and the other a blue-button mandarin, holding some rank in Kea'shen's household.

These were sent by the Commissioner, a compliment they always pay, as appears by the missions of Lords Macartney and Amherst, to visitors of rank. They made excuses for not firing a salute from the forts, fearing that the shipping outside might be alarmed and mistake it, imagining that



some misunderstanding had arisen ; there was little doubt, however, that this neglect of etiquette arose from an unwillingness that their people should see or hear any honours done to the barbarian visitors. They entered our boat, and handed round their agate snuff-bottles, and soon became quite familiar. Blue-button was particularly communicative, asking our names and different professions, and informing us of his own military deeds ; and in a private communication he acknowledged that in "*the secret chamber*" he sometimes indulged in the opium-pipe. Red-button, however, who seemed of a more morose disposition, frequently called him to order, as if he feared some disclosures from his talkative propensities.

In another hour we reached the landing-place : a bridge of boats had been constructed for our use across the mud flat ; and a narrow pathway leading some hundred yards from the shore brought us to an encampment, which had been thrown up for the reception of the mission.

A blue screen was placed at the entrance, so as to hide the interior from the gaze of the public, and here we were met by many more mandarins,

and marshalled into the presence of Kea'shen ; he rose at our entrance, and received the mission with great courtesy and civility. Indeed, the manners of these high mandarins would have done honour to any courtier in the most polished court in Europe. He begged us to remain covered, and was introduced to each person separately, and expressed his hopes that the supplies had been received by the squadron. He made some excuse for our reception in the tents, but intimated that Tarkou was some distance from the landing-place.

Judging from appearance he might have been a man of forty, and looked, what he is said to be by his countrymen, a person of great ability : his tail, the Chinese appendage to men of all ranks except priests, was remarkable from its length, and the care that was evidently bestowed upon it. He was dressed in a blue silk robe, with a worked girdle ; on his legs were the white satin boots common to all the higher orders ; his head was covered with a mandarin summer cap, made of a fine straw ; in it was placed the deep red coral button, denoting the rank of the wearer, and the peacock's feather drooping between the shoulders. On the whole, his dress was plain ; but the mandarins when in

full costume, judging from specimens taken at Chusan, must have a very gorgeous appearance.

The encampment was surrounded with a high canvass wall, resembling that which encircles the private apartments of great men and native rajahs when travelling through India. Inside this screen were eight small tents, in each of which a table and forms were placed. These formed an oval; and in the centre was erected a canvass cottage, of rather an ingenious description; whilst at the upper end, concealed by another screen, stood the tent of conference. This was lined with yellow silk (the royal colour), and worked with the arms of the empire at the back.

The interpreters and Captain Elliot remained with the commission, whilst the rest of the officers and gentlemen sought the different tents around, in which the lower orders of mandarins were busy preparing a breakfast for the party; for it was an extraordinary thing in this visit, that everything was apparently done by mandarins—none of their servants being admitted.

The meal consisted of numerous little plates, piled one upon the top of the other, containing birds'-nest soup, sea-slugs, sharks' fins, hard-

boiled eggs, whose interiors were far advanced to chickenhood, and dressed fish; these were the greatest delicacies. This is but a small portion of the supply; for at the table where I had the honour to partake of *the good fare* there were no less than thirty of these little saucers. These breakfasts were spread in the different tents, and each was intended to stay the ravenous appetites of five barbarians. So afraid were the mandarins of our seeing their weakness, that they had not only placed the before-mentioned screen around their encampment, but had thrown up a mud embankment, which, however, failed in its intention; for, although we were soon brought back by the watchful guards, we managed to get a glance of the forbidden land.

The forts had been repaired since our last visit, and were now crowded with soldiers; a few out-works had been thrown up, but they were extremely paltry, and indeed the whole thing, as a military position, was quite ludicrous. With two six-pounders and a couple of hundred marines they might have been ours at any moment. We were, nevertheless, much struck at the immense

bodily strength and power of these northern Chinese, particularly of the men who were employed tracking the boats upon the river; who, although seemingly a wretched class, more like beasts of burden than human beings, are possessed of such physical powers, that six or eight of them will drag against the stream, and with apparent ease, a boat of considerable tonnage.

In the course of the day some of the Tartar body-guard went through the sword exercise and other manœuvres for our amusement. These, consisting rather in grotesque antics and ludicrous faces than in the use of the weapon itself, are supposed to be as effective in frightening an antagonist, whilst, for the same reason, many of the troops we saw farther to the south at Chusan and Ningpo, wore a tiger uniform, a dress cut and painted to resemble that animal.

These Tartars were dressed in a white cotton garb, and black cap, and their weapons were swords and matchlocks, or bows and arrows. They were considered the *élite* of the Chinese troops belonging to the emperor's body-guard, and believed to descend from the same tribe as the sove-

reign himself. Mr. Gutzlaff, in Vol. ii., p. 313, of his 'China Opened,' states their number to amount to 26,000 men.

After a conference of six hours, during which period the loud voices of the plenipotentiaries in high argument had often struck upon our ears, the British plenipotentiary came forth, and the rest of the party having performed their salaams to the Chinese commissioner, we departed for the Wellesley; greatly, I believe, to the relief and satisfaction of the mandarins.

During our visit the language held by these servants of government was, that the members of the mission were the emperor's guests, and on this plea they refused all remuneration for the supplies sent to the squadron.

When the great seal of the British commission was opened, Kea'shen at first showed some curiosity, but immediately relapsed into that apathetic manner, that mandarins of rank think it dignified to assume.

The conference not coming within the limits of this sketch, the reader must excuse my entering into a detail of the subject. It appeared, how-

ever, that another communication with the court would be necessary before any ultimate arrangement could be decided upon.

Kea'shen moreover mentioned that a commission was to be appointed to start immediately for Canton, to investigate the conduct of Lin, whom they all blamed as the cause of the present trouble.

We often remarked, but more particularly at this time, the little political connexion that exists between the different provinces. Some of the mandarins intimated to us that these troubles were not the Emperor's fault, and indeed went so far as to say that we should do right in chastising Lin and his Canton colleagues ; but we were very wrong to threaten the Imperial person, who was innocent of the whole affair, and who had, on the contrary, a merciful regard towards the British foreigners : those provinces too ought not to be made responsible which had taken no share in the business.

They had a horror of speaking of Chusan, always alluding to it, without mentioning the name, as " that bad business," " and that when *it* was returned all would be soon settled."

The interest they took in this place may seem to belie my previous assertion. But it must be recollected that from its position the tenure of this island gave us the command of the central artery of the empire, the Yeang-se-keang, and therefore the mouth of the Imperial Canal, on which the people depended for subsistence, even in the city of Pekin, and indeed all the northern provinces.

The result of the conference, as has just been stated, requiring additional time to be given for another answer to arrive from the court, the squadron again got under weigh to sail and make discoveries in this sea, hitherto so little known to the English mariner. Our line lay along the shore of Tartary, where the *Chinese Wall* meets the sea, not at the point generally supposed, but at a large town, apparently a place of great trade. This great work is seen scaling the precipices and topping the craggy hills of the country, which have along this coast a most desolate appearance. Some of the party who went in-shore in the steamer to within two miles' distance, made the discovery that the opinion hitherto received from Lord Macartney's works, that the wall came down abruptly into the sea, was erroneous, as it tra-



verses a low flat for some miles from the foot of the mountains before entering the town, and stands upon the water's edge. Here, although it is only in the month of September, the air is very cold and cutting, and the change of temperature was felt severely by the officers and men who had been for the last four years wanderers in the Indian seas. But the different climates of this immense empire are not more varied than the interests, language, and dress of the provinces, and although an honourable member of the House of Commons has represented them as joined by a bond of unity, he would in reality be surprised to find the slight connexion or similarity which exists between them in any one of these points.

On the 12th of September the squadron returned to the mouth of the Peiho, where communications were carried on through our friend Captain White, from whom it appeared that Kea'shen was finally appointed commissioner to Canton, and was to start immediately to inquire into the conduct of Lin, and ascertain whether the complaints made by the British plenipotentiaries were correct, after which reparation would be granted.

The whole policy of Kea'shen was peace. He was too wise a man to believe what he himself had stated, for the purpose of keeping *the face of the emperor clean*. He saw that the Chinese empire lay too open to attack to enter into hostilities ; and that, even were she successful in her efforts, it would but be turning away the course of that spring which brought wealth into the country.

A letter of Kea'shen's (to be found in the Reports before the House of Commons) to the emperor, relative to the opium-trade, shows clearly his opinions and policy to be such, that there appears little doubt of an ultimate satisfactory arrangement, if he be permitted to act upon his own conceptions as to what is best for the welfare of China. In our position outside the river, at this time inaccessible, the wisest course for us to pursue seemed to be to agree to the meeting at Canton, as it appeared but just that the government should have time given them to inquire into the statements, of which they declared entire ignorance hitherto ; and during this period a cessation of hostilities was agreed to.

We anchored on our return south, at the

island of Tokay, and moved the next day to another of the same group, on which is situated the town of Tang-chow-foo ; the cluster lies at the entrance of the Gulf of Pechelee, and the latter town seems a large and flourishing place, surrounded by a high wall. On the western extremity is a small fortification overlooking the sea ; here a large body of troops were drawn up, some of which were cavalry, the first we had seen in the country.

On the following day some mandarins came off to the ship and breakfasted with the admiral. It was surprising to see the enormous quantity of food they devoured ; and one, who was of an immense size, weighing upwards of thirty stone, upon being questioned as to his powers of consumption, acknowledged, with a degree of vanity, that a sheep was his ordinary allowance for three days ; nor did he seem at all satisfied with his morning meal. The Chinese, like the natives of India, esteem size and bulk ; as they imagine such an exterior a sign of wealth and power, and respect it accordingly.

## CHAPTER VI.

**Return to Chusan—State of the troops—Captain Anstruther kidnapped—Loss of the Kite—Survey of the Yeang-se-Keang—Capture of Mr. Hamilton—Kindness of the people of Loochoo.—Proceedings of the expedition—Results of the expedition—Chinese despatches—Author's departure—Chumpee point—Future prospects of the English in China—Want of interpreters—Talents of the Governor-General.**

ON the 28th of September the squadron returned again to the harbour of Chusan. Sickness had been making terrible havoc amongst the troops, who still remained posted in the suburbs and corner of the island.

A few parties had been sent out at different times, but, from the want of interpreters, appeared to the natives more in the character of plunderers than as the agents of a government.

This inactivity was generally attributed to sickness, which disabled three-fourths of the troops from duty, and the want of fresh provisions; the return of the squadron was therefore hailed by them with delight, for the troops panted for active employment in spite of their sickness; and

this no doubt would have done more towards their recovery than all the medicine in the force.

Soldiers and followers had been carried off to the main-land from the very gates of the town, and Captain Anstruther, an officer of Madras artillery, had been kidnapped when taking a military survey within a mile of the encampment.

This officer was a particular favourite with the whole force, and in his frequent walks into the country, when performing his military duties, had apparently made himself a great friend with the country people, for whose amusement he used to sketch likenesses much to their astonishment. The night but one previous to his capture the artillery camp was aroused by screams proceeding from his tent, and when some of his brother-officers traced the sound to his quarters, he was found asleep, but upon being awoke said that he had been dreaming that the Chinese were carrying him tied arms and legs to a pole, and gagged, within sight of the camp. This is curious, as from what we were afterwards able to discover through means of a paid agent, it was nearly the case, and he was so borne within half a mile of the very tents.

Intelligence too had been received that a British

vessel had been captured on the neighbouring coast, the captain and four of his crew were said to be killed, and twenty prisoners taken to Ningpo, one of whom was a woman. As the only vessel in the employment of our Government with the squadron having a lady on board was the Kite, who was acting as a man-of-war, it was concluded that she was the vessel in question.

The Kite had accompanied an expedition sent up the Yeang-se-Kiang, under the command of Captain Bethune, in H. M. S. Conway, to explore, and it was feared she must have run on shore, on her return with despatches, and thus have fallen into the hands of the Chinese.

A small part of the squadron was therefore immediately despatched to Ningpo, to negotiate for Mrs. Noble's deliverance, which was refused by the authorities as long as Chusan remained in our possession.

The following day Captain Elliot demanded an interview with the authorities at Ningpo, and entered that harbour ; but they again eluded the delivery of the prisoners, as a report of the circumstance had been forwarded to the Court at Peking,

and they could do nothing without orders on the subject.

They gave, however, assurance of the safety of the persons of their prisoners, and begged that clothes might be forwarded for their convenience. The Chinese afterwards permitted them to communicate by letter, written, however, by their own servants in Chinese, and by this we judged of the safety of the compradore, whose fate I previously mentioned, as it was not likely there would be another interpreter at Ningpo. The letters were signed by Captain Anstruther, Lieutenant Douglass, R.N., and Mrs. Noble.

In a few days her Majesty's ship Conway was signaled off the harbour, and Captain Bethune arrived. It appeared, as had been suspected, that he had despatched the Kite with intelligence for the admiral three weeks previously, and that she must have fallen into the hands of the Chinese; the crew either having run the ship on shore, or, what now appeared more probable, having landed on an endeavour to get fresh provisions, of which they had been in great want, on the neighbouring coast.

The information gained in this expedition was of the most valuable nature, should it be found necessary at any future period to operate at this point. Sixty miles of the course of the Yeang-se-Keang had been surveyed, and a passage found that would permit a line-of-battle ship to enter, and as far as Captain Bethune could judge from the nature of the soundings, country, and run of the river, there appeared nothing likely to stop a vessel's course for many miles. Even if it should not be necessary to follow up the research, science will have received a most interesting addition from the investigations of this indefatigable and zealous officer. The description of some of the Chinese forts hastily thrown up on the approach of the ships was ludicrous ; many consisting of bamboo mats, pierced as if for guns, to astound the barbarians ; for little did they imagine that through the glasses from the ship this childish deception was easily discovered.

This survey however was not effected without some loss, for a Mr. Harvey, a young midshipman of great promise, and beloved by his messmates, having been sent on shore with a party to get



cattle and vegetables for the ships, was attacked by a body of the natives, when one seaman was killed and himself dangerously wounded ; he survived but a few days, merely to reach Chusan, and to lie side by side with many a British soldier who now sleeps beneath the turf of the flowery land.

About this time the *Algerine*, a ten-gun brig, commanded by Lieut. Mason, came into the harbour : in passing a town called Chapoo, a place of great trade with Japan, he had been fired upon by a strong fort, mounting a great number of guns. He immediately ranged his little vessel up under the batteries, but for three hours the Chinese kept up a steady fire, when, with nearly the last remaining charge, the little brig silenced the batteries ; then, anchoring her close under, Lieut. Mason waited an hour to see if they wished a renewal, and at the end of that period took his departure to join the squadron.

A mandarin on the ramparts made himself particularly conspicuous, vauntingly parading his person and directing his soldiers, whilst the shot from the *Algerine* was falling around him in all directions.

Despatches from Captain Smith, the officer com-

manding the Canton blockade, brought intelligence that he likewise had been engaged in a brush with the Chinese at Macao. Mr. Staunton, a gentleman in that place, a British subject, had been seized and carried off a short distance from the town on the Portuguese territory ; he had gone out, it seems, with the intention of bathing, and was to have met some friends at a certain spot previously agreed upon. They, imagining upon their arrival that he had returned, thought no more of the matter until the following day, when, as he was still absent, the people of the house became alarmed, and instituted inquiries upon the subject.

At last a report became prevalent that he had been carried off by the mandarins, which was soon confirmed by a person by whom he had been seen in Canton.

Captain Smith, wisely refrained from demanding him from the Chinese authorities, but intimated to the Portuguese governor of Macao that, as a British subject had been captured on *their* territory (neutral ground), he was the proper person to obtain the prisoner's release. The governor

immediately had an interview with the Chinese mandarin commanding the troops at the Barrier, who agreed to proceed to Canton, and had no doubt of obtaining Mr. Staunton's release; but returned on the following day, and, instead of the promised gentleman, brought down a reinforcement of 800 soldiers. It then became evident that any longer delay would endanger the safety of all the British subjects at Macao, whom it was quite clear the Portuguese were unable or unwilling to protect. The object then to be obtained was, to drive the Chinese troops and fleet from their present position contiguous to the town.

The Barrier is a high wall which runs across a neck of land, dividing the Portuguese and Chinese territory, and is not above a mile distant from Macao. Nine junks were seen lying in the bay, and 1500 troops were paraded on the shore. The Hyacinth and a steamer were sent in to attack, and under cover of their broadsides Captain Smith landed the marines of the squadron under his command, and a party of the Bengal Volunteers. A few volleys of musketry soon drove the Chinese from their position, and two of the junks having

been sunk by the fire from the ships, the remainder made the best of their way round the opposite point to join their flying soldiers.

Since this well-timed movement all has been quiet, and the British residents have been able to pursue their amusement and occupations without molestation.

Before resuming the narrative of events at Chusan, I may here mention an occurrence which shows the character of some, at least, of the inhabitants of the Chinese seas in the brightest colours. One of the transports, called the Indian Oak, had been sent from Chusan in the month of July, or beginning of August, with the letters of the expedition, and was unfortunately wrecked on the coast of Great Loo Choo, which island Captain Basil Hall describes in one of his books. Luckily for the wrecked mariners they fell into the hands of good Samaritans, for the kindness of the natives exceeded all that has hitherto been known. They stood on the beach ready to receive them with open arms, changed their dripping clothes for their own, brought them into their houses and fed them, and, not contented with this, wandered

along the coast, endeavouring to pick up the articles washed from the vessel, returning them to the right owners, who all declare that they do not believe that a single nail of the vessel that was driven on shore was appropriated by a native without permission. Their greatest anxiety was to send home the remains to Queen Victoria, and at length they decided upon building a junk out of her relics to send to England, as they said to her majesty. She came into Chusan in the beginning of October, and seemed rather a pretty vessel, although the sailors had painted upon the stern the "Folly."

Every endeavour was now made by both naval and military authorities to place the government of the island of Chusan on a more secure footing ; and it was at length determined that outposts should be established at several of the most eligible positions in the interior, as the troops, having received a good supply of fresh provisions, brought from the north by the squadron, began to rally, and prepared to enter winter quarters. This took place at the latter end of October, by which time they were improved in health so far that there were fewer cases

of disease, but the diminution, alas ! of the number of those who, having been once attacked, recovered, was also fewer. Lowered by this terrible disease, and weakened by the effects of the climate, they lingered on, but rarely made an ultimate recovery. There is no elasticity in the air of Chusan to buoy up the convalescent ; and the deleterious effects of the paddy-fields in which many of them had been encamped were still felt from the canals of nearly stagnant water which, flowing into the town from those fields, intersect the whole of the city. The men, however, were in good spirits, and only wanted active service to shake off their ailments. This they had anxiously looked forward to on our return from the north ; and were therefore greatly disappointed at the pacific results. They had nothing in prospect but a long and melancholy winter, without any news from India or England, as no communication northward can take place during the height of the monsoon, a period of upwards of three months.

As all further expectation, therefore, of military service was over, the officers in the force

who belonged to staffs and regiments in India, and many who had been invalided, returned to their different posts,—some to India and others to Europe.

There are a few remarks I would make, before closing this narrative, on the subject of the abstraction of Captain Anstruther, and the capture of the crew of the Kite. These, although untoward events, could, in no way that I can conceive, annul the agreement entered into at the mouth of the Peiho, as regarded a cessation of hostilities. Our unfortunate position from sickness on the island had been the cause of the former officer's abduction; and the folly of the latter weak crew, in landing on the main land, had led to their capture. This took place before the Chinese authorities could by any possibility have been acquainted with the agreement with Kea'shen at the Peiho; while they were naturally endeavouring to harass the captors of Chusan. But immediately on receiving instruction on the subject they dropped all further annoyance. To have made a demand, therefore, for the restitution of the prisoners a *sine quâ non* before pro-

ceeding to treat at Canton according to promise, would have appeared an unwarrantable breach of faith on our parts.

During the expedition to the north, the Melville flag-ship, Captain Dundas, had been hove down, when eight-and-twenty feet of her three keels, measuring from the stern-post, with part of her larboard, garboard streak, were found torn completely away, and hanging by the main keel. It was supposed by naval men that when she struck at the mouth of the harbour she must have got so firmly wedged between two rocks, that the rapid tide in the narrow passage, giving her sheer, had wrenched these monstrous timbers from her bottom. It was a labour of ten weeks before she was properly righted and refitted, but during this laborious business the seamen on board kept their health, although, at the same time, the soldiers on shore were dying of disease; had they too been actively employed, instead of moping over the graves of their comrades, they would, in all probability, have suffered comparatively less.

Chops were frequently passing between the authorities of the two nations, and intelligence\*

\* See Appendix A.



was received from a spy who was sent to Ching Hai of the safety of the prisoners. Lin the high Commissioner, and Taang the Governor of the province of Quang-tung, were both ordered to hasten to Peking "*with the speed of flames*," to appear before the Board of Punishment to answer "for the trouble." Kea'-shen was said to be on his road to Canton, having already passed through the town of Ningpo; and the government at the latter place now showed every anxiety that affairs should be amicably arranged.

Some of the emperor's comments on the despatches\* of his officers along the coast, who, wherever they had been chastised, sent up the account of a great victory, are worthy of remark. Upon the despatch of the General of the district of Chi-Keang, he writes, "The General was wrong in not having reinforced the garrison of Chusan, and he therefore condemns the said officer to lose his button; but in consideration of his former good conduct, '*and because the shot fell like mountains from the barbarian vessels*,' he leaves him in his command, to recover by future prowess his lost honour."

\* Vide extract from Peking Correspondence, Appendix B.

When informed by a despatch from another of the Generals on the shore of the Yeang-se-Kiang that the *red-bristled barbarians were wildly careering in the Celestial waters, but that the lightnings of the empire had cleared them from the coast*, he remarks upon it, “*Most right ; let our servants, however, be merciful, and the officers and the families of the men who have fallen be properly rewarded.*” Many more announcements of the same description were published in the Pekin Gazette, which some of the paid agents used to obtain for our perusal. It appears that on all the public documents from his servants the Emperor makes these notes, which are then published for the benefit of others, to encourage them to go and do likewise.

This is merely mentioned to show the utter blindness of the court to the real state of things, and how necessary it is that arrangements, whether hostile or otherwise, should be carried on at a future period, if *thought requisite, with the supreme government*, at the very foot of the imperial throne.

All things seemed now in train for amicable

arrangements. On the 24th October therefore, being rendered from severe illness unfit for further duty, and as apparently no chance remained of the troops being actively employed, I started for England with despatches for her Majesty's government; and, proceeding southward, arrived at Macao at the end of the month. Traces were still visible of the Battle of the Barrier, but the fleet and troops of the Chinese were posted at a point some miles removed from the situation whence they had been driven by the British force.

The British fleet was blockading the river, and I had then an opportunity of seeing the Bogue forts. The Chumpee point, underneath which Captain Smith, in the *Volage*, in November, 1839, had an affair with the Chinese junks, is situated at the entrance of the Tiger's mouth. Here one of our blockading ships at present lies; should subsequent affairs drive us to the necessity of more stringent measures with the Chinese, this *hill*, and the neighbouring island of Whangtong will be the points found necessary for us to operate upon.

Chumpee is a high hill on the left bank of the river, with a small fortification on the summit, mounting a number of guns, of which some are thirty-twos. From its commanding position it would, if in our possession, at once be an eyesore to the natives and an eligible spot for a body of troops.

The island of Whangtong lies some distance farther up the river, at the entrance of a part called the Woman's Shoe. From its situation the surrounding batteries on each side might be easily shelled and kept in awe. It would appear useless and dangerous to keep troops in the small fortification on the main-land, when these might be held in check from a position which would always be the head-quarters of the enemy's troops, and, by its insular position, rendered secure from sudden attacks.

On our approaching within a short distance of the base of the Chumpee point, a signal gun was fired from the fort, and answered from the fortifications along the borders of the river, the smoke being visible for many miles, until the winding course hid the answering signals from our view.

Nature has here done her utmost to strengthen the place, and if it was held by a European power there is no doubt it would indeed be a tiger's mouth, and nearly impregnable to an invading foe.

The remaining batteries are numerous and lie close to the water's edge, but a further attempt to describe this place or the town of Macao is needless to those who have read the "Fanqui in China;" and others who take an interest in the subject would do well to become purchasers of this little work, which will well repay both time and expense.

Thus to all appearance does this Chinese war, if so it may be termed, seem drawing to a close. Their government necessarily feel that they are weak and totally unprepared for resistance; and what they dread more than all, they already see faintly glimmering in the distance—namely, the internal struggle it must bring upon the country.

They have at last found out that the time is arrived when in order still to hold the reins, however feebly, in their grasp, it will become necessary to concede in some points: but in agreeing

to the demands of Great Britain it will be with the hope, although delusive, that at some future period they may again close that door to the ingress of the foreigner, which necessity may now oblige them to unlatch.

Should, however, the treaty be broken off by some unlooked-for occurrence, or some Chinese political bigot be substituted in the room of Kea'-shen as commissioner, which is not altogether impossible, as he is looked upon by many of his countrymen as too favourable to the foreigners ; the indefatigable researches which have been made by the squadron under the directions of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, and the knowledge thereby obtained of places hitherto unknown, must bring the contest to a short and decisive determination.

The occupation of the forts of the Bocca Tigris, the blockade of the Yeang-se-Keang, and the cutting off all communication at the mouth of the Imperial Canal, both at its northern and southern mouths, at Teen Sing on the Peiho and on the Yeang-se-Keang, would cause such starvation and misery through the northern provinces, that it would at once paralyse all their efforts ; and if it were ne-

cessary to bring matters to a still speedier termination, a descent on their principal towns along the coast—Canton, Nankin, Chapoo, Amoy, and Teen-sing—would bring such awful destruction and havoc, that the people themselves would rise against their government, and the whole empire would become one frightful scene of anarchy and confusion ; for, not only are all these plans now known to be practicable, but by a cut, made either in the banks of the Yeang-se-Keang, or of the Imperial Canal, the Chinese themselves or their invaders might render the whole of the great province of Cheki'ang and the provinces far to the northward one scene of deluge.

One of their highest offices in the state (" the Board of Rivers and Water-works") is instituted for the superintendence of this water communication, which, from being a blessing, might in a few hours be turned into a bitter scourge, and it is generally given to one of their most talented and active officers.

But, if it be possible to obtain our object by a mild course, such strong measures are much to be deprecated. Our possessions in India are already large enough for our force ; and to have the

whole empire of China thrown upon our hands would be a grievous burden, not an addition to our power.

Should we be successful in placing our trade upon a secure footing, in opening some ports along the coast, and in the attainment of any other demands the English government may deem necessary, all that a British subject can wish, for the welfare of his country in these matters, will have been obtained.

It should be remembered that there are mercantile houses in China, whose speculations give them an interest in a long and tedious war, and who will be the first to pick some hole in the final arrangement.

Although much invective and blame have been heaped upon the head of Captain Elliot, the superintendent of trade, it is to his vigilance and policy that the last year's revenue from the tea may be attributed; for had he acted otherwise, in all probability not one grain of the cargoes of 1839 would yet have found its way to England; and, although it may be forgotten by the merchants, now that the danger is over, he was, at the risk of his own life and public fame, undoubtedly the means



of saving them ; at all events from a protracted and tedious imprisonment. The policy of his measure is shown by the result of their increased profits ; for it is undeniable that more money has been made since the delivery of the opium in July 1839 than was ever gained before ; and even should not a farthing of the protested bills be paid, they have already covered the deficiency—always excepting those gentlemen who honourably relinquished, and have never returned to, the *gainful trade*.

At the moment of the outbreak, Captain Elliot found himself without any force to oppose the acts, however unjust, of the Chinese authorities ; and, at his immense distance from any resources, *time* became an object of the greatest importance.

The opium-trade, however hateful it may appear in the eyes of many, is, it must be recollected, a source of great benefit to the Indian government ; returning, I have heard, a revenue of upwards of two millions and a half yearly. It therefore becomes those who are so eager for its suppression to point out some method of making up the serious defalcation of revenue that must necessarily accrue to the Indian Government, whose expenses already out-

run its present income. It is the custom of the time to colour every subject with the tint of party, and, unfortunately for the best interests of the country, the opium-trade is taken up as one of the great engines of opposition; but it is most fervently to be hoped, whatever measure is carried, whether by Whig, Conservative, or Radical government, they will examine well into all its different bearings, lest, in endeavouring to eradicate what appears to them an injurious excrescence, they find, when it is too late, that they have wounded a vital part of the commercial system.

The attempt to annihilate the trade by Act of Parliament would not merely affect the Company, of whose interests and welfare these moral regenerators and philosophic minds seem totally ignorant, for a good reason—that, generally speaking, they are wholly unacquainted with India and its affairs; but it must be remembered that there are likewise native princes, who are receiving the greatest portion of their revenues from the cultivation of the poppy, and who, if the trade was entirely suppressed, would become little better than state paupers.

It therefore becomes a question, Is the present

the moment to open fresh causes of discontent among the natives, and to give birth to new foes to the British power in India; and is our army sufficiently numerous to curb the whole native force, unaided by what has hitherto been to the British government the strongest ally and safeguard — *Opinion?*

The suppression of the opium-trade by Act of Parliament would be but making the coast of India a scene like that of China at present, and every bay a harbour for smugglers and lawless bands. No sudden measure can be productive of the ultimate object as long as there are such immense inducements in the trade; and there is no saying what dangers to British influence such an interference would open.

It appears doubtful whether the ultimate possession of Chusan would add at all to the prosperity of trade, although many persons imagine that a position at the mouth of the Yeang-se-Keang is of the first importance to ultimate success; and others again think that a position off the mouth of the Canton river would be most eligible. At all events, Chusan would always require a force of 1500 men as a secure garrison,

backed by a couple of corvettes ; and it has likewise this disadvantage—that four months in the year it is totally inaccessible from the southward. However, I am rather inclined to think that an opening of the trade along the coast, and an arrangement, if possible, for the exchange or purchase of Macao, which, after all, is of little use to the Portuguese, would be far the most advantageous for our purposes, for at that point British merchants and their *ways* are best understood.

One of the greatest difficulties and drawbacks to the expedition has been the want of interpreters and it is a requisite of such vital importance for all future negotiations, that some step ought to be taken to remedy the evil. There is no doubt that most of the disagreements between the soldiery and people, and likewise the want of supplies, arose from the difficulty of making bargains and agreeing upon prices, when there were no linguists to interpret between the parties.

The education of a dozen youths in the language at Macao, by a professor, or else by an arrangement with the members of the Roman Catholic Institution at that place (who for a small annual income

would be easily induced to furnish at all times a certain number of interpreters for the use of government), would well repay the small expense thus occasioned. Or, should the difficulty of getting men for this purpose alone, be considered too great to be overcome, I have no doubt, if a system similar to that pursued by the Company in India towards their servants, to encourage the study of the language, was tried by our government at Macao, it would be found to answer,—namely, if a prize were offered in the shape of a small yearly salary, say five hundred rupees a-year, to proper persons, who should pass an examination in the language, limiting the number of entrances according to the vacancies that occur after the first establishment, and giving the preference to the best pupils—I have no doubt many of the junior and lower members in the mercantile houses would be led to study the language; and there then would always be a certain number of trustworthy interpreters ready at the requisition of government. From the Chinese College at Singapore, where these people are taught to speak and write English, linguists might be drawn for the more menial

uses,—such as for interpreters between the military and country-people; but they would always be unsafe to trust in matters of consequence.

Against the self-opinion and obstinacy of the Chinese no measures or arrangements by the present mission, although taken with the greatest caution, can for a certainty protect our merchants at a future day. But should hereafter the vanity of the Chinese lead them into like trouble, the way to inflict punishment would seem to be locally upon the offending district, leaving the cry of the people to enforce the necessity of continuing the trade with Great Britain.

The prompt measures of her Majesty's government have been the means of showing them that the barbarians' Queen is both able and willing to protect her servants, although many thousand miles intervene between the British and Celestial lands; and the Chinese government will hardly again wish to see an English squadron "*madly career-ing in the inner waters.*"

A war with China must be always a source of regret—the country is unprepared, and unworthy of a British foe, and open to attack on all sides

from its weakness and size. It is much to be feared that any attacking power would be driven to an awful course of violence, plunder, and bloodshed. The immense superiority of numbers on the part of the Chinese would preclude the occupation and tenure of towns on the main-land, and their enemies would be forced to seek compensation by more rapid and peremptory measures.

The talents and energy of the Governor General of India in the whole outfit and preparation of the expedition cannot fail to be the source of admiration to those engaged with the force. Scarcely had his conquering army returned from the walls of Caubul in the west, when another and more complicated expedition to the east was decided upon. Before three months had elapsed, a body of four thousand men, in the highest health and spirits, glowing with hope and ardour for active employment, together with the squadron in the Indian Seas, were on their voyage to the Celestial Empire ; and that their return may be as successful as that of their brethren in the west, is the sincere wish of a late member of the expedition.

## APPENDIX A.

---

### A REGULAR PETITION.

A VILLAGER, "Lew-hean Fat," native of Tinghai district, hereby petitions in reply, in accordance to the order he received. "Fat," having been directed by your orders, went on the 25th September, at the 5th watch, on board, and on the afternoon of the following day reached Ningpo city; he there ascertained that an officer of your honourable army had arrived on the forenoon of the 17th September, having his hands and arms bound, and being brought on by "Paon Asge" and others to Ningpo.—He is now in the prison "Yin" (of Yin district, the principal prison of "Ningpo"), but I have had no interview with him. I also learned that only one servant had been taken over by "Paon Asge" and others. It moreover appeared that on the 18th September there were



twenty-two soldiers of your honourable army brought bound by the people of "Hen Shan Pih-in-chin-hae" district to "Ningpo." Amongst them there was a female, who was also put in the same prison, but none of them received any punishment or were dishonoured.

I have also heard that the Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, and military Officers, on the 28th September, conjointly had held a conference requesting the imperial pleasure for the establishment of peace; but this matter has not yet been settled satisfactorily. Wait till I go again back to Ningpo and inquire the truth thereof, and I shall report on this matter. This petition I present prostrate to your honour's lightning glance.

The above translation by the Rev. C. Gutzlaff.

W. CAINE, Capt.

(Chief Magistrate.)

Chief Magistrate's Office.

*Tinghai, 3rd Oct. 1840.*

## APPENDIX B.

---

*Extract from the Correspondence between the  
Che-keang authorities and the Emperor :—*

IN a letter, dated July 7th, the Too Yuen or Lieut.-Governor of this province, describes the approach of the British shipping, and principally expatiates upon the structure of the steam-boats, which sail against wind and tide. He then mentions the visit of the Vice-Admiral to the Wellesley, and speaks of the noble stature of the soldiers that were seen on board. The summons for the surrender of Tinghae is quoted at full length, and the English receive their full meed of censure for their disobedience and wickedness.

His Imperial Majesty, in his reply, remarks that naval and land fighting are by no means the same, and that some excuse ought to be made for the suddenness of the attack by powerful men-of-war ; still the officers in command of the island

must have lost all courage to permit the capture of the island.

In another rescript, dated 20th July, the monarch ascribes this warlike demonstration to the extermination of the opium-traffic in the province of Canton, and the stoppage of the British trade. He moreover directs that his reiterated injunctions for putting the whole coast in a state of defence may be followed up, and orders that the lieutenant-governor, with a number of other officers, should be degraded for their neglect and be delivered over to the board of punishment.

His Imperial Majesty remarks that he had quite anticipated such a result from the annihilation of the opium-trade, and therefore urges the most strenuous efforts to oppose our invasion.

In a memorial received from the lieutenant-governor, under the date of July 22nd, the capture of Tinghai is denounced as a most detestable act, though the landing of 3000 or 4000 men, English barbarians, rendered resistance impossible.

His Majesty issues orders, in consequence of this daring exploit, to put the navy in a proper

state for making resistance, and to command other vessels to join the Ningpo squadron. As it is also very probable that these barbarians might make an attempt upon Chinhi and other towns, the Emperor, filled with apprehension, commands a general officer of Fokien to guard these places, and enjoins him to exterminate the barbarians. A number of officers, most of them colonels, are sentenced to lose their rank, and be severely punished. The commanding general of the "Ningpo" land and naval forces, however, though degraded from his rank, is permitted to retain his office for a time, to gain new laurels, and to atone for his previous neglect.

The Tartar General and Lieutenant-General at "Hangchoo," the metropolis of this province, report that, being apprehensive that an attempt by sea, on the river "Tseentang," might be made upon the city, they erected forts at the mouth of it. They moreover remark that, as the men-of-war of the said barbarians are strong and the guns powerful, there would remain little chance of victory to the Imperial navy. On that account they had ordered the marines on shore to

defend the country against the enemy. They issued, moreover, orders to apprehend all traitorous natives. Thus prepared, they awaited the foe : on a sudden a man-of-war approached "Chapo" (the Algerine) ; the Lieutenant-General guarded against her, and the firing commenced on both sides : there were above ten soldiers wounded and killed, and it was found difficult to oppose this single vessel under such circumstance : reinforcements might arrive and the city be taken. The commander therefore ordered new troops to come without delay and maintain the place against the invaders.

In another despatch, dated August 3rd., from the Emperor, in answer to a communication, in which it was stated that an additional number of men-of-war had arrived at "Chusan," the monarch expresses his great fears, regrets that the distance is so great as to render the correspondence tardy, and blames the officers for their blunders. He orders them to wait until the garrison of "Tinghai" had exhausted their strength, and then to march with their soldiers to obtain a victory, but on no account to make a military diversion,

nor to allow the English to sneak into their harbours. In the mean while, he commands "Yu," the Admiral, and "Yang," the governor of "Fokien," to exterminate the enemy with the forces under their command, to exercise the utmost vigilance, and to attack any landing party. The authorities of "Kwantung," and "Fokien," are at the same time ordered to adopt this line of proceeding:—provisions and ammunition are to be placed at their disposal, and extensive magazines to be established at "Ningpo." His Majesty appoints "Elupo," governor of "Keangnan," to undertake the defence of "Chekeang," with plenipotentiary powers, and again commands "Tang" and "Yu" to exterminate the barbarians.

The sequel of this correspondence is not yet come to hand.

The above is a true copy of the translation furnished to me by the Rev. C. Gutzlaff.

N. CAINE, Capt.

(Chief Magistrate.)

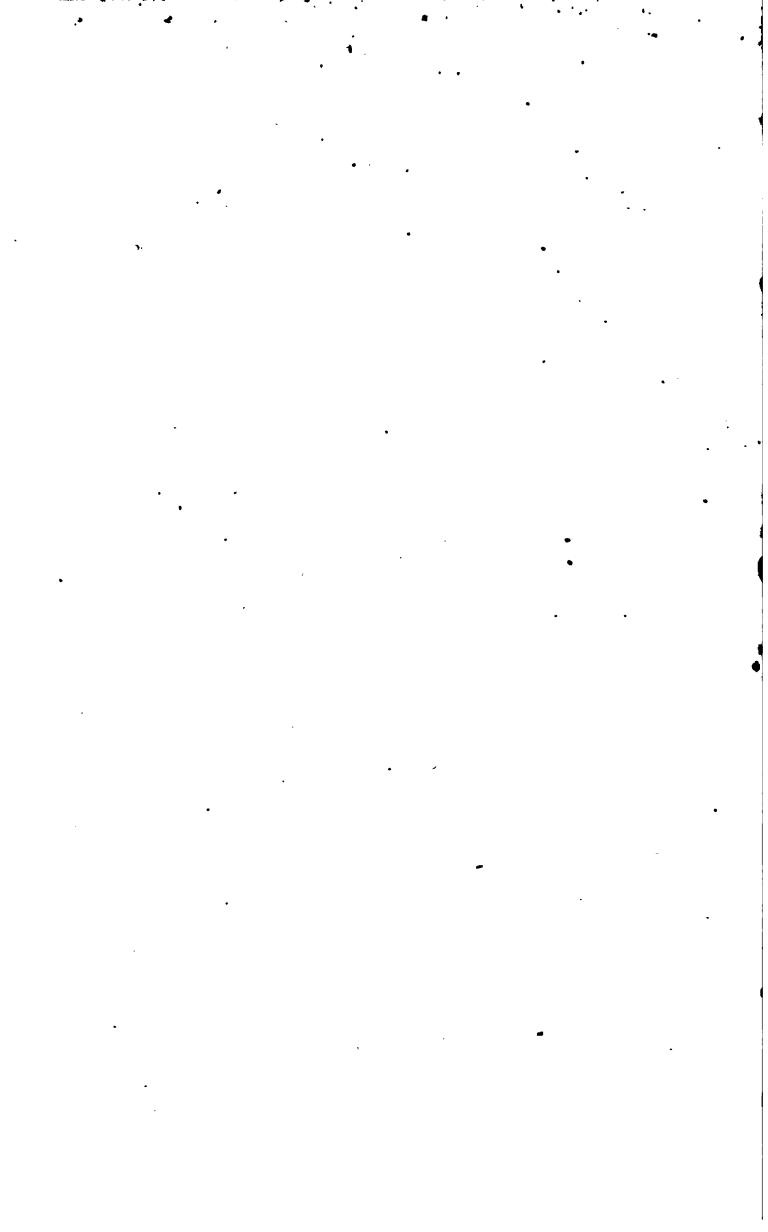
Chief Magistrate's Office,

*Ting Luc, 14th Oct. 1840.*

**LONDON :**  
**Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES and Sons,**  
**Stamford Street.**









5



**514279**

D 5757  
15  
T1

**UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY**

